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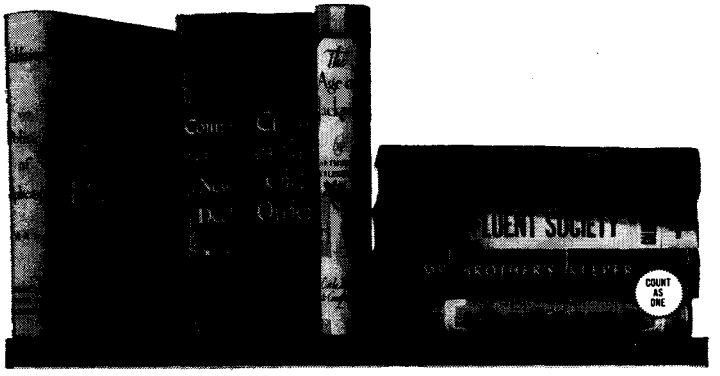

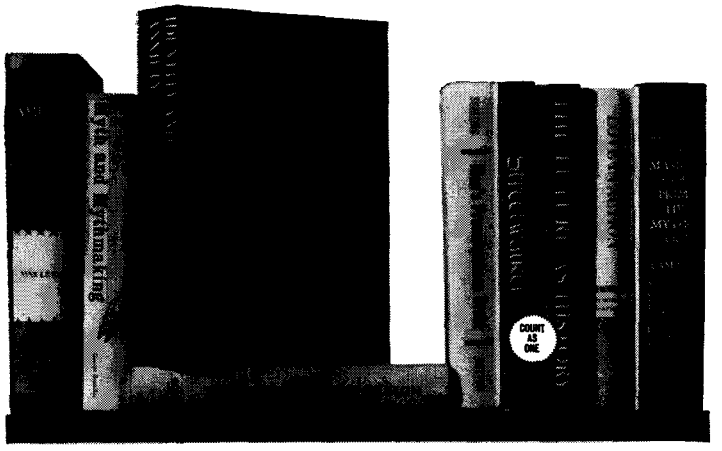

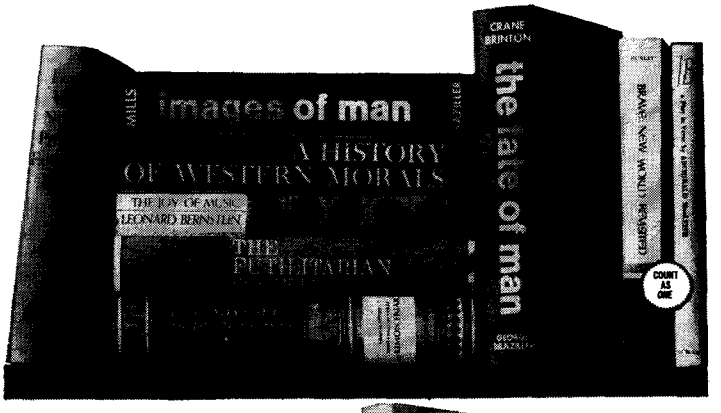

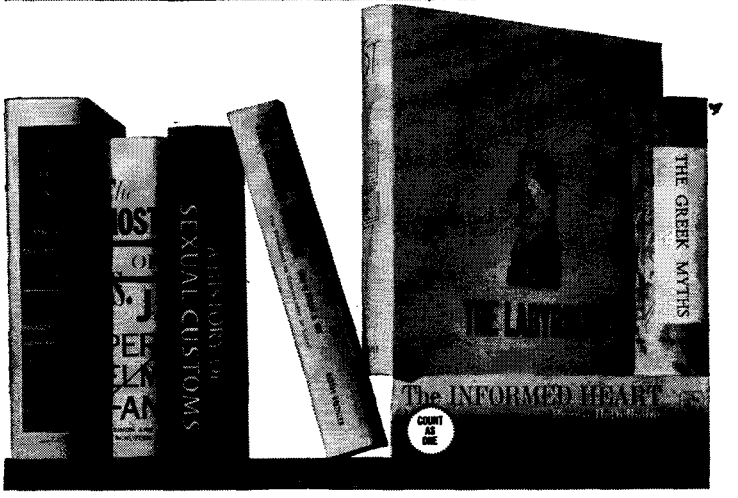

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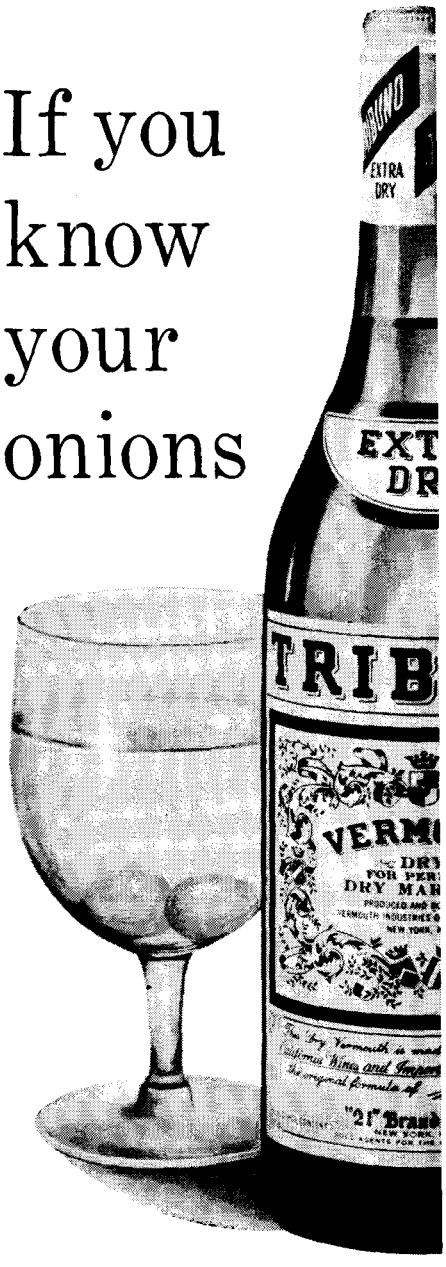

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Editorial and Business Offices:

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Manuscripts or artwork submitted to The Reporter should be accompanied by addressed envelope and return postage. The publisher assumes no responsibility for the return of unsolicited manuscripts or artwork.

THE REPORTER, June 8, 1961, Volume 24, No. 12. Second-class postage paid at New York, New York, and at Dayton, Ohio. Published every other Thursday except for omission of two summer issues by The Reporter Magazine Company, 660 Madison Avenue, New York 21, N. Y. © 1961 by The Reporter Magazine Company. All rights reserved under Pan-American Copyright Convention. Subscription prices, United States, Canada, U. S. Possessions and Pan-American Union: One year $6, Two years $9.50, Three years $12. All other countries: One year $7, Two years $11.50, Three years $15. Please give four weeks' notice when changing address, giving old and new address. **Send notice of undelivered copies on Form 3579 to: The Reporter, McCall St., Dayton 1, Ohio.** Indexed in *Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature* and *Public Affairs Information Service*.

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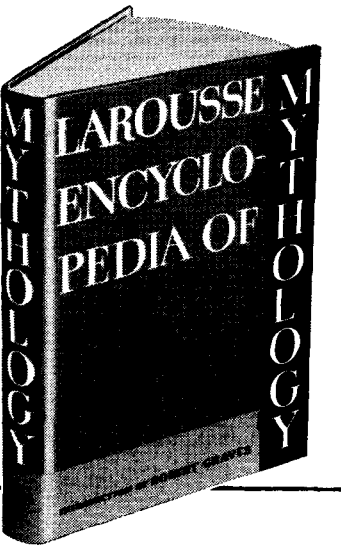

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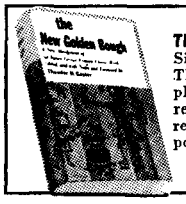

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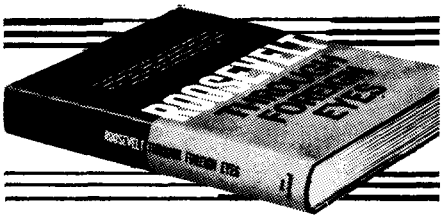

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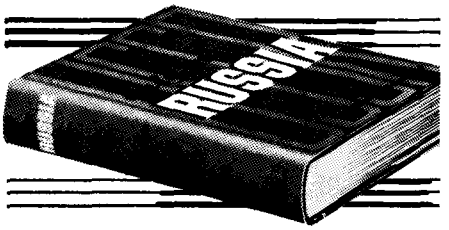

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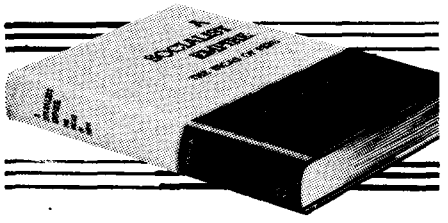

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WHO— WHAT— WHY—

A FEW COMMENTATORS have criticized the President for doing so much traveling around the world, while at the beginning of his administration he proclaimed himself a believer in more sedate, conventional diplomacy. **Max Ascoli,** however, finds most of these criticisms unjustified: in his opinion there is nothing like the actual exercise of power for deciding the way in which power ought to be used. Particularly after the unfortunate accident of Cuba, the President has to meet face to face with the major world leaders. Some of them, like Macmillan and Adenauer, have already come here, while President de Gaulle is probably too proud or too busy to travel to these shores. As for Khrushchev, it is much better for the President to meet him in Vienna than to have him back in New York again, raising hell at the U.N. After all Mr. Kennedy's travels of inspection, we are confident that the foreign policy of our country will be more firmly defined.

The orgy of breast beating and public denunciation of national unworthiness has been going on for too long. This publication never had any great liking for that kind of exercise. We assigned one of our staff writers, **Meg Greenfield,** to study the problem, and we are glad to report that according to her findings the so-called moral crisis seems to be a recurrent disease. We go through ups and downs, and the recurrence itself may guarantee some form of immunization. On the other hand, we are fortunate enough to have in our country a number of *ad hoc* committees or foundations who keep the channels ever open to soulful verbosity. Should our readers be surprised that we have given so much space to a nonpolitical subject, we had better tell them it will happen again: *The Reporter* is concerned but not obsessed with politics. Miss Greenfield may be remembered by our readers for her essay on "The Prose of Richard M. Nixon" shortly before the election.

THE North Atlantic Treaty Organization is faced with three problems and an imponderable. The problems are concerned with the nuclearization of NATO defense, control over long-range nuclear weapons, and the necessity for overhauling the machinery of the alliance. The imponderable—here as in so many other areas—is the attitudes and policies of the Kennedy administration. **Alastair Buchan** is director of the Institute for Strategic Studies in London. . . . **Adam Yarmolinsky,** Special Assistant to the Secretary of Defense, reviews the post-election effort to recruit the best people for the top jobs in the Kennedy administration —an effort to which Mr. Yarmolinsky himself notably contributed. . . . The Russians are apparently well on their way to conquering space, but they are still having a good deal of trouble solving the more earthy problems of agriculture. **Isaac Deutscher** reports on the chaotic state of affairs on the kolkhozy. Mr. Deutscher's latest book, *The Great Conquest: Russia and the West,* is published by Oxford. . . . **Denis Warner,** an Australian Far East correspondent, discusses the Communist techniques of fighting "wars of national liberation"—techniques which our SEATO policy of preparing conventional resistance to conventional attacks has left us ill equipped to combat in the Far East, and which are now being used in African countries and, of course, in Cuba. . . . **William H. Hessler,** of the Cincinnati *Enquirer,* reports from aboard the U.S.S. *Coral Sea* in the Far East on the diverse capabilities of the Seventh Fleet.

Daniel P. Moynihan's discussion of the sixty years, glorious or otherwise, of Irish dominion is part of a study of the nationalities of New York sponsored by the Joint Center for Urban Studies of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology and Harvard University. . . . **Nat Hentoff's** *The Jazz Life* is published by Dial. . . . **Martin Mayer's** most recent book is *The Schools* (Harper). . . . **Alfred Kazin** reviews Robert Penn Warren's latest book. . . . **George Steiner's** *The Death of Tragedy* is published by Knopf.

Our cover, an impression of New York's City Hall, is by **Gregorio Prestopino.**

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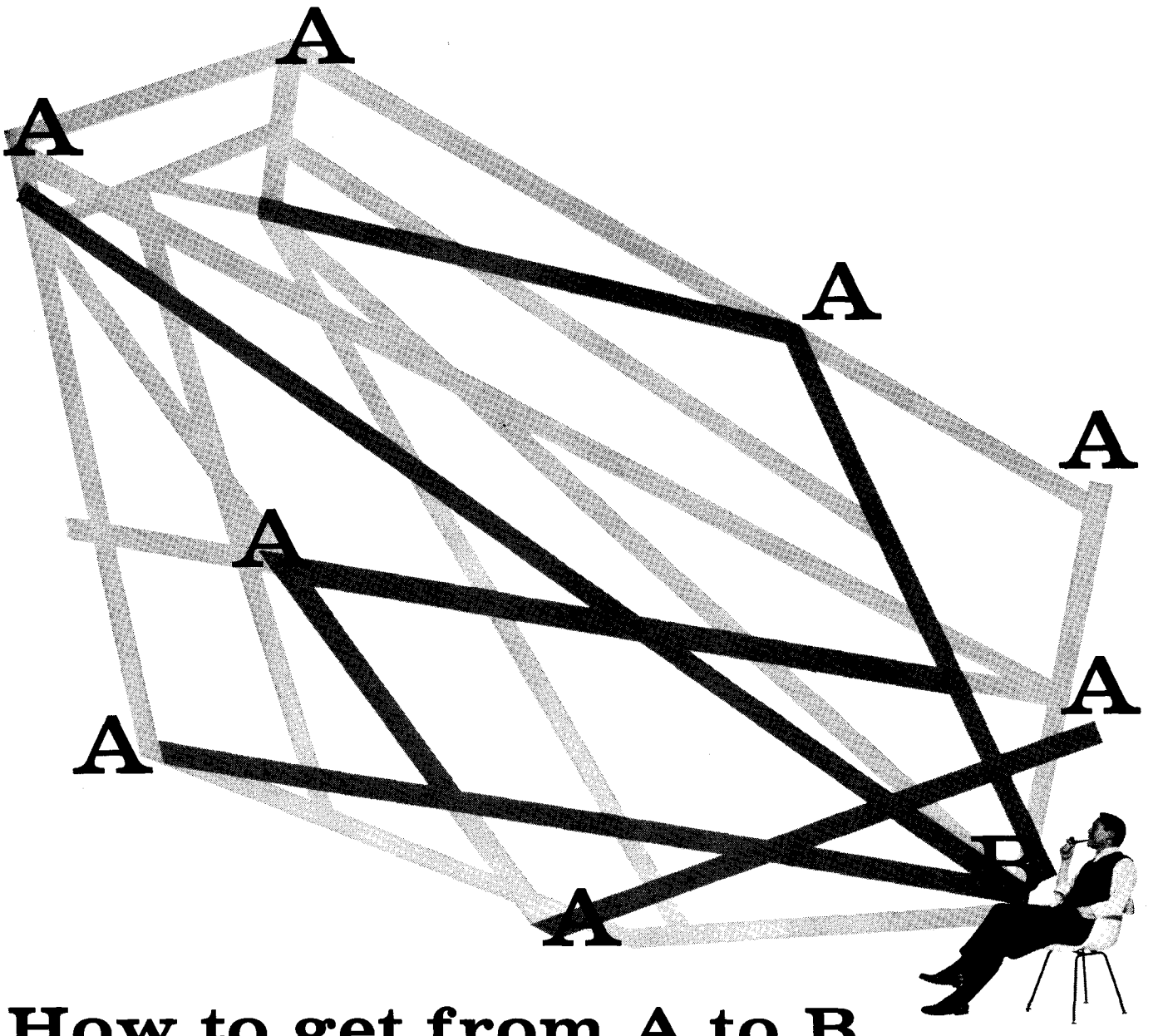

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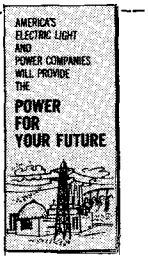

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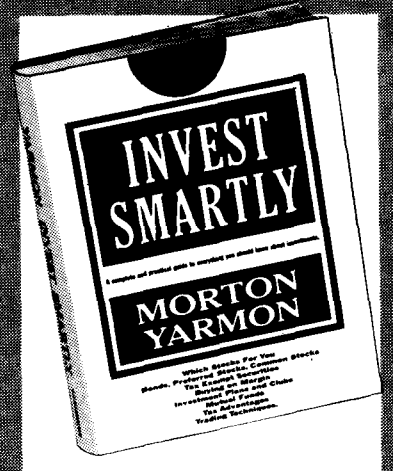

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CUBA

To the Editor: Congratulations upon your editorial in the May 11 issue ("Kennedy and De Gaulle") and upon your whole coverage of the Cuban fiasco. Let us hope that you are right and that the Presidents of this country and of France will meet in Paris with a renewed sense of interdependence as a result of their troubles in Cuba and in Algeria.

The analysis of the American press's dilemma by Douglass Cater and Charles L. Bartlett ("Is All the News Fit to Print?") was both thoughtful and thought-provoking. Any discussion of selective news handling by the press is bound to provoke outbursts of criticism, but the Cater-Bartlett article was remarkable for its calm and well-balanced approach to the subject.

WILLIAM SHANE
Miami Beach

To the Editor: The effect of the article on the press by Messrs. Cater and Bartlett will, I fear, be to perpetuate President Kennedy's apparent theory that the Castro régime knew nothing about the invasion plans except what it read in the American press.

The training camp in Guatemala, for example, appears to have been a matter of common conversation in that country—and people inferred, quite correctly, that no one but the Yankees could spend money quite that extravagantly. Unless Castro totally lacks helpful friends in Guatemala (an unlikely assumption), he knew more about it than the American public. Besides, he has his own secret service, which was quite as capable as American reporters of tapping the rich sources of information available from the numerous and disputatious refugee groups.

The press did provide clippings for Señor Roa to flourish at the U.N., but that is about all. He doubtless had all the information already, and by deploying the clippings he implicitly acknowledged that the United States—unlike Cuba—*does* have a relatively free press.

DAVID C. WILLIAMS
Washington, D.C.

To the Editor: I am in the newspaper game myself. I got in because I thought it was one of the few places left where one could make an honest living. If I am simply expected to be a flack for American imperialism, and a particularly cheap and crummy brand of American imperialism at that, then, gentlemen, count me out.

MICHAEL V. MAHONEY
Bend, Oregon

To the Editor: Each of us sees situations in terms of our own orientations, and in contemplation of the Cuban fiasco, the psychologist wonders also about the decision-making process which preceded this shameful display. To this reader, the only reasonable explanation of this event is to assume that behind this suicidal enterprise lay the process of compromise and consensus that has come to bear the misleading label of "teamwork" in modern organizational life.

It is, after all, not reasonable to assume that this enterprise came about because one man made a firm decision and saw that it was carried out. One man might decide that there would be no American encouragement of a rebel movement among the Cuban exiles, and there would have been none. One man might have decided that we should depose Castro; and if that decision were made, a full complement of air, sea, and propaganda support would have accompanied a heavily armed army of sufficient tens of thousands of troops to overwhelm the land-based forces of tanks and planes and guns they would have to overcome. Either of these kinds of decisions a strong leader—one individual—could have made. But one cannot conceive of one person of reasonable intelligence deciding to send about a thousand men with hand arms to invade Cuba. No. No one man could have made such a decision. Only a committee could do something this stupid. Only a committee, compromising with all points of view to do something that looked safe yet adventurous, liberal yet conservative, committed yet uncommitted, could have sent this crew in to slaughter.

IRVING LAZAR, PH.D.
Certified Psychologist
Beverly Hills, California

ALBANY

To the Editor: While Mel Elfin ("The Rites of Spring in Albany," *The Reporter,* April 27) may not have seen the New York Assembly at its best, I must agree with his conclusion that something must be done to ease the enormous burden of legislative labors that we in Albany assume each year. Contrary to the impressions of a few of my colleagues, I believe that if the legislature were to delegate some of its innumerable powers, it would emerge much stronger.

LOUIS WALLACH
Member of the Assembly
Jamaica, New York

To the Editor: Mel Elfin implies that in the 1961 session of the New York legislature there was logrolling. The dictionary says of logrolling, "commonly used opprobriously of certain modes of accomplishing political ends." You might concede that your writer meant "You vote for my bill and I'll vote for yours." You and he should read Sections 1327 and 1328 of the Penal Law of New York. Then you should take your evidence before the grand

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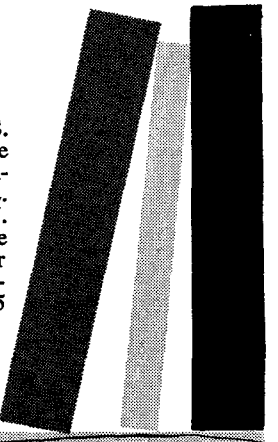

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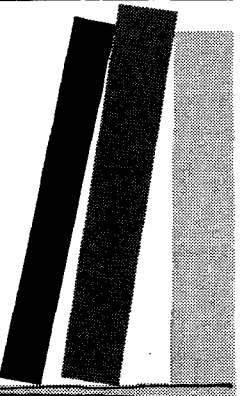

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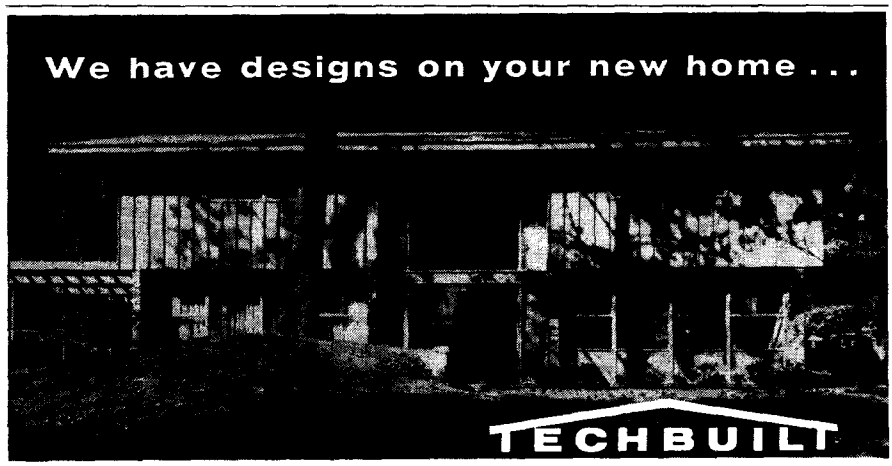

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jury of Albany County as quickly as possible. If you do not have evidence you will, of course, retract with the same prominence in your magazine that you gave to Mr. Elfin's article . . . I respectfully suggest that you and Mr. Elfin learn the meaning of the word "sciolist" and avoid being the same.

PAUL R. TAYLOR
Member of the Assembly
Penn Yan, New York

To the Editor: Judging by editorial comment in the Stamford *Mirror* on May 21, 1889, we have made some progress in the past seventy-two years. Simon B. Champion, then editor of the *Mirror,* a weekly newspaper, wrote this about the 1889 New York State legislature's rush to adjourn:

"The legislature is a disgrace. At Albany, May 15, fifteen or twenty members of the Assembly were more or less intoxicated at the evening session. They threw the bill files at each other and used the document rolls for bats. Some of them sat around in the Assembly chamber with their hats on and smoked.

"The Speaker tried to preserve order, but he did not succeed. There was little sober speech-making, though frequently several members who had been drinking too much tried to talk at once.

"The whole evening's entertainment was about the kind of an exhibition that would be expected from the men who constitute the present Assembly. It is the worst body of men ever convened in Albany."

ROBERT A. SPENCER
Rochester, New York

To the Editor: It was with a chuckle and some sense of nostalgia that I read Mel Elfin's article. Few can survive the closing days of the legislative session without reflecting on the success of the democratic process. . . .

More to the point, however, in attempting to evaluate the workings of the legislature are the proceedings utilized in New York State that underlie the generally sound record of accomplishment. The greater burden of legislative bill draft is undertaken by Joint Legislative Committees, working on a year-round basis. Public hearings on major bills are frequent (and often scantily attended by the press). Meetings of standing committees are held, in most instances, on a regular basis throughout the session. While the tide of bills tossed into the hopper continues to rise, the number of measures actually brought to the floor for consideration has not risen proportionately, generally a reflection of a strong and responsible committee system.

As in other states, the New York State legislature suffers from lack of informed attention on the part of the public it serves.

MACNEIL MITCHELL
New York Senate
Albany

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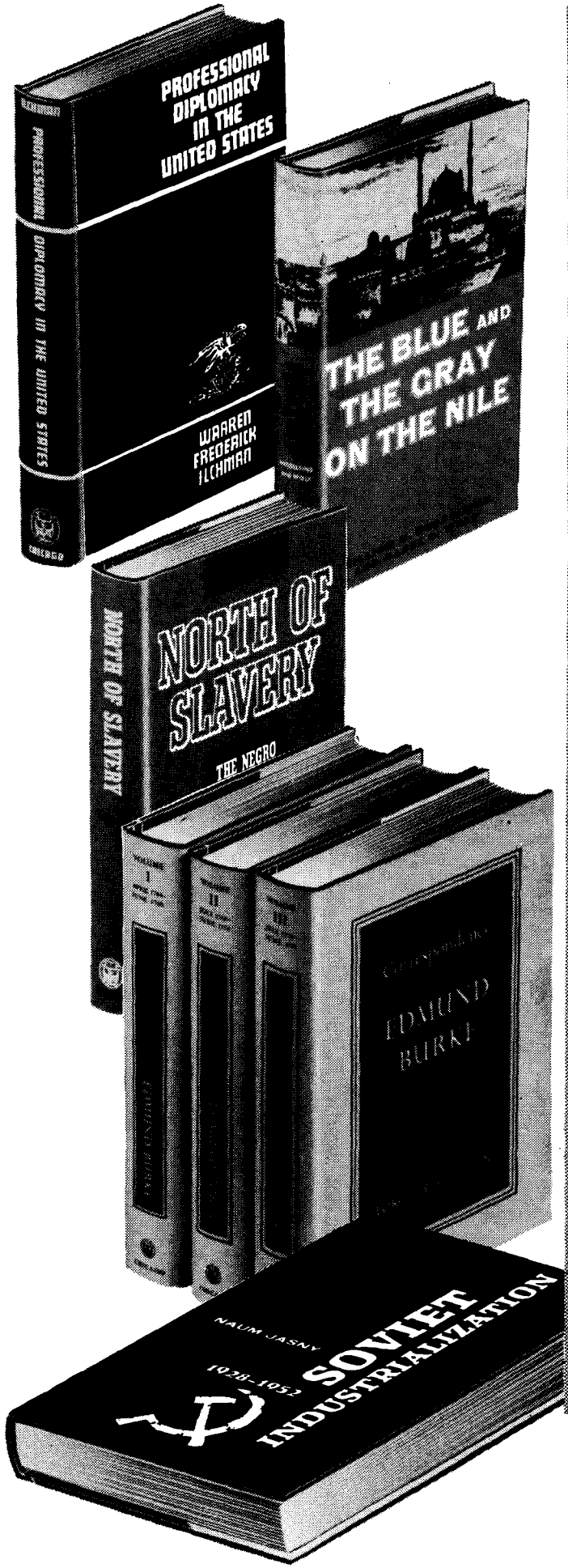

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THE REPORTER'S NOTES

Double Standard

One thing that has been perplexing us for a long time is the double standard the white citizens of the South apply to their politics. In this case, we do not mean discrimination against the Negro; we mean the determination with which they go on exporting their ablest men to Washington while allowing themselves to be governed at home by a collection of politicians who scarcely deserve to be included in that honorable profession.

From Alabama, for example, Senators Hill and Sparkman, as well as Congressmen Rains, Jones, Roberts, and Elliott, lend luster to the business of Congress. They have become masters of particular fields of legislation—housing, health, banking, foreign affairs—and have generally behaved with wisdom and restraint during the recurrent crises that have racked their region. Their parliamentary skill, joined with that of other able Southerners in Congress, has enabled them to claim a greater power than their numbers or even their seniority would warrant.

Compare the behavior of Alabama's Governor John Patterson. By noisy protestations and not-so-veiled allusions to pending violence, he set the stage invitingly for the Freedom Riders who, if nothing else, have demonstrated that they do not fear violence. When violence did break out in Birmingham and Anniston, Patterson was so busy assuring Attorney General Kennedy he had the situation in hand that he somehow neglected to notify the Montgomery police of the bus's arrival. Even after U.S. marshals arrived and formed a thin line against catastrophe at the Baptist Church, Patterson was more preoccupied with getting rid of the Feds than in establishing law and order. In short, he could not have been more helpful to the cause of the Freedom Riders if he had been a charter member.

There are encouraging reports from Alabama of a growing recognition that this kind of behavior is not an adequate substitute for responsible politics. Three of the state's leading newspapers have accused the governor of creating the conditions he is now deploring. On the other hand, Patterson reportedly is taking comfort in the fact that his mail is running strongly in his favor. He is greatly amused by a suggestion that he should exchange any Freedom Riders who are arrested for tractors. (Maybe his neighbor, Governor Ross Barnett of Mississippi, another "smart" politician, will act on this bright idea.)

It is difficult to caution restraint among the Negroes, especially when they find themselves confronted with such political bankruptcy. But restraint is needed, especially in those from outside the region who are tempted to turn this thing into a Holy Greyhound Bus Crusade. What must not be forgotten in the anger of the moment is that the people of the South, Negro and white, must go on living together and working out their problems, with or without the assistance of phony politicians.

Patchwork

The textile lobby is gleefully anticipating the imposition of mandatory quotas this year on textile imports from such places as Hong Kong, Pakistan, and India, where wages are notably lower than they are in the United States. The apparent source of the glee is an innocuous-sounding statement from the President to the effect that the industry can have recourse to the protection machinery of the Office of Civil and Defense Mobilization. Two years ago OCDM certified the textile industry as being "essential" to national security. Now, according to the President, OCDM will consider "on its merits" the industry's plea that mandatory quotas be imposed on textile imports "by country and by category of product."

MUTINY

> *"But in a very real sense, it will not be one man going to the moon. We make this judgment affirmatively: it will be an entire nation. For all of us must work to put him there."* — From President Kennedy's Address to Congress, May 25.

Dear Mr. Kennedy, ask what you will of me,
Yours to command in the dangerous years—
Let taxes and toil make a nought and a nil of me,
Count on my sweat and my blood and my tears;
Pipe me the song and I'll march to the tune,
But I won't help you putting a man on the moon!

It's much too expensive and what do you get for it?
Man in a crater, a flag in a hole—
Anything else and I'll go into debt for it,
Pay any piper, play any role;
You can count on me late, you can count on me soon,
But I *won't* help you putting a man on the moon!

—SEC

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This is no ordinary protectionist gambit. It rises out of an implied campaign promise and involves the administration's whole approach to commercial policy. During the campaign, candidate Kennedy wrote a letter on the subject of textile protection to Governor Ernest F. Hollings of South Carolina. In it, Mr. Kennedy declared quite flatly: "Imports of textile products, including apparel, should be within limits which will not endanger our own existing textile capacity and employment, and which will permit growth of the industry . . ."

The textile industry regarded the statement as a promise of trade restrictions to come. J. Spencer Love, chairman of Burlington Industries, Inc., a giant among textile producers which has large plants in the Carolinas, came out for Kennedy. Although the Democrats were not optimistic about South Carolina, both Carolinas ended up in the Kennedy column. This spring, Secretary of Commerce Luther H. Hodges, a former governor of North Carolina, served as chairman of a Cabinet-level committee on textile imports which recommended, among other things, recourse to OCDM. He is said to have gotten support from Secretary of the Treasury Douglass Dillon, who apparently let his own Carolina connections outweigh his adherence to the liberal trade policies he had espoused as Mr. Eisenhower's Under Secretary of State.

The present Under Secretary of State for Economic Affairs, George Ball, is in Europe, fighting a desperate battle for time. While the threat of OCDM action looms large on the horizon, Ball is trying to find a way to lure Europeans into buying more textiles from the Far East and southern Asia as a prelude to asking Hong Kong, Pakistan, and India to show some "self-restraint" in exporting to the United States. The Japanese, who have been restraining themselves voluntarily for some time, are the only people who view these developments with anything like enthusiasm. They have suffered seriously from discrimination on the part of European countries, and they are feeling the competition from Hong Kong.

What Ball is trying to do is to get the Atlantic nations to move in step toward a common commercial policy toward the underdeveloped countries. In this regard, textiles are by far the most important product involved. Ball's objective was summed up approvingly by the *Economist* of London: "If the nations of Europe and North America could agree to move forward together, gradually enlarging and ultimately removing quotas on the new Asian exports, they might find the problem of adaptation easier than they find it on their own."

Ball's negotiations look forward to the calling of a world conference of the textile industry. The issues this conference will be asked to resolve are certainly not simple ones. The textile trade is made up of an enormous variety of finished and semi-manufactured goods. Reconciling the conflicting interests will be an extremely complicated process.

Meanwhile, OCDM will be trying to decide which products, from brassières to wool uniforms, are actually "essential" to the national security. The textile lobby is convinced that such a division is impossible and will push for mandatory quotas across the board.

Imports of finished textile goods today amount to something less than eight per cent of U.S. domestic production. We don't envy the diplomat who has to tell the Indians and Pakistanis that their textiles are a threat to our national security.

FOR FOREIGN TOURISTS

Allow us to arrange a tour
For you to see the sights
In places where a lot are poor
And only some have rights.

Ride a bus that's southward bound,
And when you're nearly there,
You'll hear a very special sound
Of welcome in the air.

You'll see an ancient native rite,
Where men and women spit
At anyone who is not white
And not ashamed of it.

And if you're lucky you will see
A native dance of hate,
Where one of you might even be
The one they flagellate.

We'll guarantee a night in jail
With all expenses paid,
And if we get you out on bail,
You've really had it made.

So take advantage of this trip
While you can see the last
Of tribal practices to slip
Into our darkest past.

SEC

These Things Were Said

¶ I can categorically state that in Spain there are no political prisoners . . .—*Elsa Maxwell, in the New York Journal American.*

¶ Mme. Yekaterina A. Furtseva, the Soviet Minister of Culture, got stuck in an elevator for sixteen frantic minutes here [Cannes] today. The hotel lobby was cleared. Riot police sealed all exits and mounted a guard on the roof. Rumors of a political assassination swept the city before a hotel electrician fixed the elevator and Mme. Furtseva rose to her suite. A spokesman for the Soviet minister commented: "In Russia this could not happen."—*UPI report.*

¶ Mrs. Faye Seale, thirty-five, says she will protest to the suburban Channelview [Texas] School Board over the inclusion of a book about the writing of Plato in the library of the junior high school her son attends. She referred to "Living Biographies," a study of the lives and thoughts of twenty-one philosophers from Plato to Santayana. Mrs. Seale said she objected to an account of Plato's proposals for communal mating, free love, and mixed gymnastics classes for boys and girls clad only in their virtue. "I can't help but believe this is one reason we have so many sex maniacs walking around," she said.—*Report in the New York World-Telegram and Sun.*

¶ In *Questions of Method* he [Sartre] explains: ". . . Kierkegaard was right against Hegel, even as Hegel was right against Kierkegaard. . . . Marx was right against both Kierkegaard and Hegel." . . . Surely, if Kierkegaard was right against Hegel, if Hegel was right against Kierkegaard, and if Marx was right both against Kierkegaard and Hegel, then how could Kierkegaard finally be right against Marx?—*Lionel Abel in Dissent.*

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MAX ASCOLI

The Education of J.F.K.

It is only too easy, not to say unfair, to criticize our President and our Secretary of State for doing so much traveling after having vigorously professed their belief in quiet, stay-put diplomacy. These two eminently reasonable men, still newcomers to their position of power, have been quick to recognize that in order to exert a measure of control over events, they must first of all size up the men who hold power abroad. Already, a number of heads of nations or of government have come to Washington, and more will follow —probably altogether too many. Prompted by reasons considerably more serious than wanderlust, the President is taking to the airways for his inevitable confrontations with de Gaulle and Khrushchev.

The traditional tools of diplomacy, those time-honored concepts called balance of power, spheres of influence, or alliances, have been made somewhat improbable and unmanageable by the absence both of war and of peace. This absence is likely to persist for an indefinite period, and to be further complicated by the attempt on both sides to contrive substitutes for war and for peace. The Communists have a device that they use with exasperating effectiveness: they create situations of menacing tension that, in their plans, can only be relieved by our backing down. They are playing with the prospect of war as a substitute for war, and we, as well as our allies, can at best manage not to lose too much.

This is why it is of the utmost importance for our President to become personally acquainted with the main players engaged in this desperately risky game. Within the span of a few months, he will have looked straight into the eyes of each one of them, and they into his. A reciprocal understanding can in this way be established of such a nature as to be far more meaningful than any diplomatic protocol. Whether we like it or not, this is an era of personal power all over the world. And we are indeed fortunate to have a Constitution that provides ample room for the responsible personal power of the President.

In meeting one after the other Charles de Gaulle and Nikita Khrushchev, J.F.K. will be subjected to arduous cramming in the furtherance of his education. He can take it. Khrushchev is the supreme example of a man who is not free, for he is driven by the power he has concentrated in himself. The subjection he has imposed on the peoples under him inexorably compels him to expand and deepen his tyranny. For him, as he has said, West Berlin is a cancer; but so is every country with an elected, representative system where competitive political parties exist capable of assuming the responsibility of government. For Khrushchev, the presence anywhere of men with a sense of privacy and of inner life is a cancer.

The man is possessed. The inevitability of socialist expansion that he attributes to history holds a fragment of truth as far as it applies to him: as the totalitarian ruler of the most powerful socialist country, he cannot help trying with all his might to expand his domain. Maybe he would like to stop; maybe he is, as he sometimes appears, humorous and humane; but the dynamics of tyranny cannot give peace to him, to his people, or to the world.

In Charles de Gaulle, too, there are some traces of fanaticism. But he is a supremely free man. He is dedicated not to an arbitrary and arbitrarily imposed prophecy of things to come, but to the constant rebirth of his country's greatness. No matter how exalted de Gaulle's interpretation of French history may be, this history is a reality that has enriched the world. Moreover, this reality is still very much alive, and all civilized men depend on it.

The general is, and has always been, a hard, aloof man, remote from his fellow countrymen throughout all his life. Yet at least two or three times he has embodied their conscience. He has taken decisions for them, dictated by his inner life, lonely decisions which, later on, the people of France have ratified. The last occasion was as risky as the preceding ones, but popular ratification came in an amazingly short time.

The fact that he is guided by the history of France gives disciplined creativeness and rigorous style to his actions. He may turn out to be the man with whom our President will have the greatest difficulties. But even these difficulties will be worth while if the alliance is strengthened. No two men could be more radically different than the two heads of government our President meets within a week. De Gaulle's strength comes from his awareness of history, from his inner life, and from his will. Khrushchev has only power, and far too much of it.

Perhaps it had to be this way: J.F.K. is still campaigning, still busy gaining the confidence of our allies and the respect of the Communist adversary. His election was just a primary. After having seen the rulers of the major countries and after having been seen by them, he will settle down in Washington and give the measure of himself.

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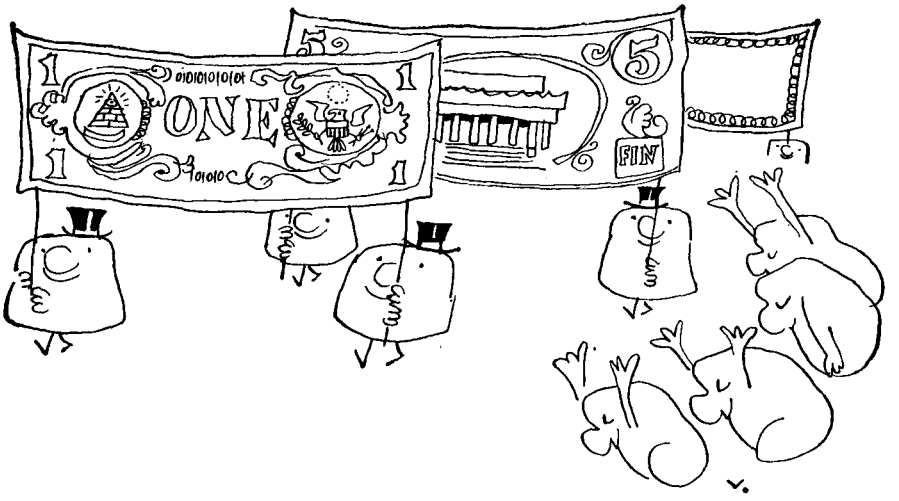

The Great American Morality Play

MEG GREENFIELD

A FEW WEEKS AGO Robert M. Hutchins revealed that the Fund for the Republic is about to undertake a two-year study on a subject of great importance to all of us. "There are signs," he remarked, "that the moral character of American society is *changing*." Dr. Hutchins did not say whether the change was for the better or the worse, but he did drop a few hints. "Should we be alarmed," he asked, "by the difference between the behavior of Airman Powers in Moscow and Nathan Hale?" To help us decide whether we should be alarmed, the Fund has invited a hundred national leaders to Washington presently for a conference on citizen ethics. Next to the news story announcing all this, the New York *Times* carried a biographical sketch of Dr. Hutchins; the headline was "FOE OF COMPLACENCY."

For those who may wonder if there isn't something a little bit complacent about being the foe of someone else's complacency—not to mention inviting one hundred people to discuss the morality of 180,000,000 other people who may not even realize that they are on trial—it should be noted that Dr. Hutchins, unlike many other experts on our moral character, at least gives us a fighting chance. "Perhaps we are stronger than the critics of America normally assume," he has said, adding, however, in a tone much more typical of recent rhetoric on the subject, "or perhaps we are in even worse condition than they say we are."

So widespread, indeed, is the agreement among those who feel competent to diagnose our moral ills that the only area of disagreement left would seem to be over which of a variety of repulsive terms is best suited to describe us. So far "flabbiness," "decay," "rot," "malignancy," and "nerve gas" have been offered. "We maunder along in a stupor of fat," suggests Professor Eric F. Goldman, who will lend his assistance to the Fund study. Popular publications as well as popular professors are worried. "Many critics," declared *Redbook* last February in one of its blackest fits of editorial depression, "have concluded that we are less moral and more dishonest than any previous generation."

Ethical Cycles

The current moral crisis (we are bad), which seems to have set in during the summer of 1957, followed the religious revival of 1953-1957 (we are good), which in turn came hard

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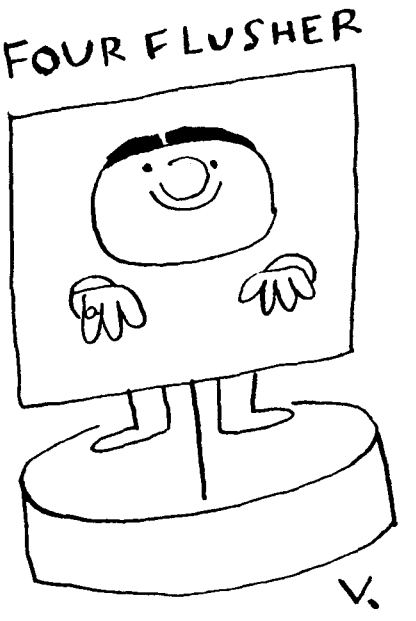
on the heels of an earlier moral crisis (we are bad) dating from about 1950. While the symbols of our present decline are Charles Van Doren, payola, cheating in school, and the decision of Francis Gary Powers not to kill himself, the earlier critics were aroused by "five per centers," deep freezes, mink coats, the Kefauver hearings, and a series of basketball fixes. Following as it did a period of wartime patriotism (we are good), the postwar moral crisis was slow in getting under way, a fact that prompted *Life* to complain in April of 1951: "In some 160 items of printed comment examined last week, the word 'wicked' was used exactly once to describe the conditions in question." Printed comment soon picked up, however, and an inspection of the listings in the *Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature* will indicate the curious fluctuations between sinfulness and virtue that we have undergone as a nation in the past decade.

In the volume for the 1951-1953 period, "U.S.: Moral conditions" claimed fifty-four entries ("Breakdown in Morals?," "Have We Lost Our Moral Heritage?," "Moral Crisis of Democracy"), while "U.S.: Religious institutions and affairs" had only six. In the 1953-1955 volume, however, "U.S.: Moral conditions" was down from fifty-four to five and "U.S.: Religious institutions" was up from six to twenty-five ("Businessmen on Their Knees," "Congress Gets Religion," "Look Again at the U.S.A.!"). In the 1955-1957 volume, at the height of our virtue, "U.S.: Moral conditions" was reduced to a single entry on divorce in Hollywood, and the religious listings reached thirty-four, with twenty-eight "see alsos." But as is characteristic of these fluctuations, doubt had begun to set in. Among the congratulatory offerings one could already discern the beginning of the end: "Is Our Religious Revival Real?," "Is the Religious Boom a Spiritual Bust?," "Unreal Revival." By the summer of 1957, *Better Homes and Gardens* was ready with "America's Moral Crisis," and when four months later the first Sputnik went into orbit our morals took a rapid turn for the worse. At first it was not clear whether we were bad again or simply dumb, but Charles Van Doren settled all that. By 1960 there were more articles under "U.S.: Moral conditions" for three months ("Age of Payola,"



"Aimless Affluence," "Our Rigged Morality") than there had been in the entire four-year period of grace.

JUST AS the nature and extent of our current badness are agreed upon by critics representing every possible shade of opinion and degree of seriousness, so the rediscovery of our goodness reflected a national mood that not only crossed party lines but also seemed to cross everyone's mind at about the same time. Billy Graham records in the *American Mercury* that he visited President-elect Eisenhower at the Commodore Hotel in New York five days before his first inauguration. The general "looked out the window for a few full minutes," Dr. Graham has let it be known, "turned around and said, 'America has to have a religious revival . . .'" Perhaps no other policy directive issued by Mr. Eisenhower during the next eight years was executed so promptly or enjoyed such widespread support. At the very moment he uttered his words, dozens of serious-minded Americans may have been reading the symposium that ran in three issues of the *Partisan Review* on "Our Country and Our Culture," in which a number of intellectuals were reflecting on the fact that "the tide has begun to turn," and that America was much better than had previously been supposed. "For the first time in the history of the modern American intellectual," wrote Lionel Trilling, "America is not to be conceived of as *a priori* the vulgarest and stupidest nation of the world." And Max Lerner reported, "I hear less than before about our 'materialism' . . . or the idiocy of the masses in buying television sets."

Whatever may have accounted for the reaffirmation of American virtue, once it got started it knew no limits. "Americans are practical," declaimed a *Life* editorial (September 28, 1953) in which the word "wicked" wasn't used even once, "but they are not at home with Machiavelli. A moral foreign policy is the only kind that will suit them in the long run." Not only were we on God's side but God was on ours. Another *Life* editorial (December 26, 1955) pointed out that "on every dollar bill . . . [is] the Great Seal, with the eye of Providence and the motto *annuit coeptis*, which means 'He has favored our undertakings.'" So fully did He favor our undertakings, it would seem, that according to *Newsweek* He even moved to the United States: "It is no wonder . . . that many consider the U.S. a land in which the Spirit—that Refugee from most parts of the modern world—has made His home."

THE FACT that the Spirit had come here from somewhere else illustrates a constant feature of our moral cycles: as we get better, foreigners get worse, and vice versa. Just as the intellectuals' affirmation of America was achieved at the expense of Europe, so before our latest fall from virtue it was widely agreed that we were better than other people precisely because we were spiritual and our foes were materialists. "The greatest weakness of our opponents is that they are professed materialists," as John Foster Dulles summed it up. "The President, the Cabinet, and the Congress all recognize the priority of spiritual forces." But it went even deeper than that, as a leading religious authority named Elton Trueblood revealed to *Cosmopolitan*. "So many people in the Western world," Dr. Trueblood wrote in explaining the religious revival, "are becoming skepti-

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cal of a merely materialistic society."

Now that we are bad again, however, even the neutrals—whom Dulles had characterized as "immoral"—have been granted a certain moral authority in the world. We have become materialists again, and the Soviet Union is displaying all the strength that comes from dedication to a higher cause. Perhaps the most widely quoted lamentation in the literature of our current lapse is that of George F. Kennan:

"If you ask me whether a country —with no highly developed sense of national purpose, with the overwhelming accent of life on personal comfort, with a dearth of public services and a surfeit of privately sold gadgetry, with insufficient social discipline . . . has, over the long run, good chances of competing with a purposeful, serious and disciplined society such as that of the Soviet Union, I must say that the answer is No."

Sad to say, even the Spirit must have decided that His home in the United States was nothing but another split-level trap and gone on His way. Four years, almost to the day, after announcing the Spirit's arrival, *Newsweek* began its 1959 survey of the moral scene with a question: "How can the church remain enmeshed in a culture that is going rancid?" And the same Billy Graham who in 1955 had seen "evidences today that we are having the greatest religious resurgence in American history" looked around in 1960 and found himself "confronted with the evidences of spiritual and moral decay on every hand . . ." Somewhat sorrowfully Dr. Graham also reported: "The chairman of the history department of one of our great universities recently confided in me, 'We have become a nation of cowards.' I challenged him on this statement, but his arguments were convincing."

Joe Doakes Did It

In view of these depressing developments, surely the least we can do is to try to discover which of us are responsible for this moral slump, what exactly we are doing wrong, and what, if anything, we can do about it. Unfortunately, the literature of the moral crisis provides very few concrete answers to these questions. Although the indictment is sweeping, it is also so general that only one fact stands out clearly: the moral decline is something that happens to somebody else. Indeed, even individuals who might once have been thought of as wrongdoers themselves frequently join in to indict the unnamed multitudes. Thus Charles Van Doren was reported to have "strong opinions about the debasement of values by commercialism . . ." "Lawyer after lawyer," as the *Times* reported of the recent

price-fixing charges in the electrical-equipment industry, "said his client was 'an honorable man,' a victim of corporate morality . . ." And Sherman Adams not only pointed out that others did what he did every day; he was sufficiently worried about the moral fiber of other people, in contrast to his own, to discuss legislation that might be passed to prevent them from peddling influence.

Whoever they may be, this sizable if unspecified group of weaklings and wrongdoers who everyone wishes would behave better have somehow gotten together to form something called the "System." The System, as far as can be discovered, consists of all those who are not either moral critics or criminals (or both) and whose behavior has caused the righteous to despair and the fallen to fall, although it is not always quite clear how. The idea seems to be that since everybody else is probably doing it anyway, the sin at hand was socially induced and so its perpetrator cannot be held accountable for it. Naturally, no single act is worth the attention of an overworked moral critic unless it can be discussed as a "trend," a "level," or, more frequently, a "tide." Four years ago, when we were good, in addition to "trends," and "tides" we had "waves," though not so many "levels."

THE SYSTEM not only tempts individuals into evil ways by example; it also doesn't pay them enough for being good. John Steinbeck has decided that "Someone has to reinspect our system and that soon. We can't expect to raise our children to be good and honorable men when the city, the state, the government, the corporations all offer higher rewards for chicanery and deceit than for probity and truth." This notion of morality as something regulated from outside an individual on the basis of his desire to be well paid and well liked is somewhat troublesome in view of the fact that "success" (popular) and "rewards" (financial) are two items the moral critics usually deplore most heartily. The notion that virtue is its own reward has been dropped, but the new morality as a whole is not without its attractiveness. Our individual sins are traded in for those of the world at large. While none of us can be held responsible for our lapses any more, we have all become responsible for the lapses of everyone else, since in the first place we are probably no better than they are, and besides we haven't made it worth their while to be good.

Just as psychological interpretations have tended to do away with the doer, so this generous sociological thesis tends to do away with the deed. Guilt, like democracy, is everybody's job. Each new fall from

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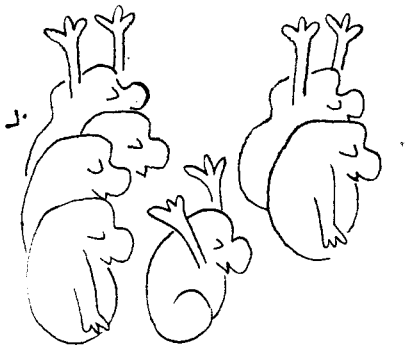
virtue forces the conscientious moral critic not to consider the specific act but rather to wonder whether a society can be good that pays its teachers so little or chews so much gum, or where this sort of thing could have happened in the first place. No wonder it has become nearly impossible to discover just who is having this moral decline. As the doers have become victims, so their deeds have become "symptoms," meaningful only as they reflect how dreadful all of us are.

This reliance on symbolism was nowhere more apparent than in the case of Charles Van Doren, for whose perjury we are all still paying. "TWO RABBIS ASCRIBE TV SINS TO PUBLIC," the *Times* revealed, quoting one who told his congregation that "The eyes of the investigators should be upon those who sit glued to the television screens." "Is It Just TV—Or Most of Us?" was the title of an article by Charles Frankel in the same newspaper's Sunday magazine section. "Are we suffering from an outbreak of immorality?" Frankel asked. Did not the guilty individuals "reflect attitudes that are widespread"? *Dissent* agreed: Van Doren was "but a symptom" of our corrupt society. Probably the *Saturday Evening Post* summed it up best: "We believe that the importance of their [the quiz contestants'] guilt has been wildly exaggerated, the significance of their guilt almost wholly overlooked. The nation, we suspect, will not go into total decline because Xavier Cugat cribbed on his pop music exams; we may even survive the revelation that network presidents were either asleep at the switch or more interested in advertising revenue than in the honesty of their programs." Having disposed of what actually happened, the *Post* felt free to get down to



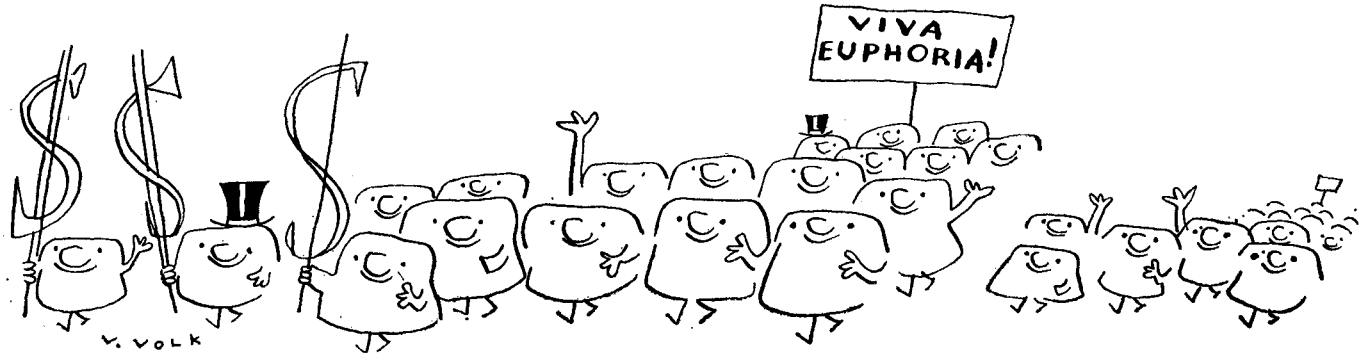
business: "What is important is that we recognize the television scandals for what they are—a symptom of the declining standards of moral behavior in the United States . . ." There is no such thing as a bad boy, as Father Flanagan would be bound to say today; there is only the moral crisis.

The Measure of Iniquity

If only somebody else is guilty and if only the ebb and flow of the moral tides are to be taken seriously, then how can we measure our spiritual decline with any degree of accuracy?

For a variety of reasons, it was somewhat easier to establish proof of our recent goodness than it is to find the evidence of our current badness. The religious revival could be documented with statistics of record church attendance, the fact pointed out by *Fortune* in 1953 that U.S. Steel had spent $150,000 to subscribe to Dr. Norman Vincent Peale's magazine *Guideposts* for 125,000 employees, and *Life's* observation that an average of two religious books "are published every day, and many have become whopping best sellers." While church attendance remains high and the steelworkers may still be getting their copies of *Guideposts*, it is true that we have not again equaled the record year of 1953, when six out of the ten best-sellers in the nonfiction class were what the publishing industry calls inspirational books, and there is no doubt that in their place has come a rush of distinctly noninspirational books such as *The Organization Man* and *The Status Seekers*, which have also become whopping best-sellers. Since the only way to interpret this development as evidence of a moral collapse, however, would be to assume that the citizens who buy them are reading them as handbooks on how to get ahead, the best-seller lists fail to provide much evidence either way and illustrate some of the difficulties besetting those who attempt a statistical appraisal of 180,000,000 people's morality at the same time.

As a matter of fact, statistics are not always required. More often the proof of our decline is based simply on interviews, impressions, or catalogues of the nation's more notorious failures, usually with a view to comparing all of us unfavorably with all of the people in some other country. Implicit in this method of computing is the multiplication of the data at hand by the total population figure. Thus Vance Packard disclosed in *The Waste Makers* that a survey of eighteen hundred students from ten countries (180 from each?) showed Americans to be suffering from something called "intense 'privitism,'" while Mexicans, as might be expected, were "aglow with idealism." England also came in for a nice fillip in the widely publicized letter from John Steinbeck to Adlai Stevenson which both *Newsday* and *Coronet* printed and which later became the basis of a symposium in the *New Republic*. ("In this moving correspondence," *Coronet* proudly announced, "Adlai Stevenson and John Steinbeck deplore the



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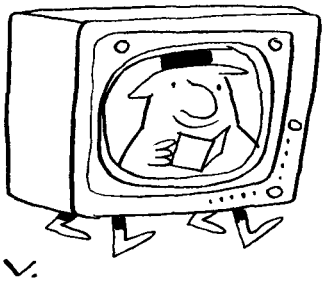
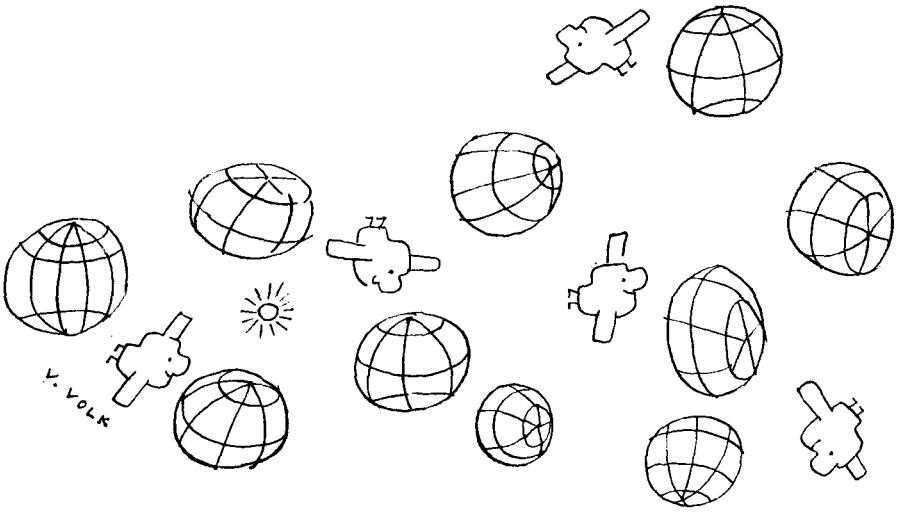
corruption that infects our national life.") While Stevenson confined himself to a more or less run-of-the-mill catalogue—"our wealth, moral flabbiness, uncertainty and TV scandals"—Steinbeck was more impassioned. "If I wanted to destroy a nation, I would give it too much," he declared, "and I would have it on its knees, miserable, greedy, sick . . . And then I think of our 'Daily' in Somerset [England] who served your lunch. She made a teddy bear with her own hands for our grandchild. Made it out of an old bath towel . . ." But surely, one can't help recalling, England has its teddy boys as well as its teddy bears. And there were the Notting Hill race riots and the cases of police corruption. By this method of reasoning, is it not possible to determine that it is England that is having a moral crisis, while we—what with the late Dr. Dooley, and the sit-ins, and Mrs. James Gabrielle, who took her child to a desegregated school in New Orleans, and all those American students "aglow with idealism" who want to join the Peace Corps—are actually enjoying a moral regeneration? The possibility of catalogue



canceling out catalogue and interview contradicting interview is clearly the chief drawback of this method of calculation.

WHEN STATISTICS are introduced to define the moral crisis, they are, like the figures by which we formerly assessed the religious revival, mostly about how we spend our money. Nowadays, of course, the stress is on expenditures for things that are bad, pornography being a prime example. We spend half a billion dollars a year on it, J. Edgar Hoover has reported to *Cosmopolitan*. Not long ago, on the other hand, *Life* reassured us that we were spending three-quarters of a billion dollars on church construction. It might be mentioned that the task of interpreting such figures has not been made any easier by our frequent swings from good to bad, since it is



clear that if we are going to be fair about this thing, we will have to take both figures into account, possibly subtracting the smaller from the larger and dividing what's left by the total population to get an accurate idea of how good or bad each of us is during a given fiscal year. Complicated and unreliable as this method is—can we ever be sure we have added and subtracted all the pertinent figures?—there is a further and more frequently invoked set of consumption statistics that resists interpretation even more stubbornly, since they do not represent expenditures on such forthrightly good or bad activities as building churches or looking at dirty pictures but money spent on frills and idle indulgences. This documentation is based primarily on the translation of certain fashionable economic theories into precepts of individual ethics.

Although no one so far has suggested replacing the Gideon Bible in every American hotel room with a copy of *The Affluent Society*, the degree to which one accepts certain chapters of the gospel according to Professor John Kenneth Galbraith seems to have become a test of moral worth. Indeed, the word "rich" has all but disappeared from even the most conservative forums—*U.S. News* is an example—in favor of "affluent." ("Q. Is this laxity a product of an affluent society? A. Yes, it's one consequence.") Of course, *U.S. News* does not necessarily endorse all of the views expressed in Dr. Galbraith's program. A moral critic doesn't have to favor spending more money on schools to deplore the expenditure of too much money on tailfins. And once he has switched from economics to ethics, there is nothing to prevent him from implying that tailfins are every bit as morally debilitating as pornography.

The artful if irrelevant use of statistics on consumer spending as indices of moral character has brought both fame and fortune to Vance Packard. He writes, for example, "They [we] have been spending more on jewelry and watches than they have on either books or basic research." And yet, with all due respect to books and basic research, how can we always be sure that it is morally better to buy a book than a jewel? Which book? *Return to Peyton Place*? Do more people buy jewelry to give as gifts (morally better) than they do books they keep for themselves (morally worse)? Who has bought more books—Mrs. Gabrielle or Charles Van Doren?

IF THE FIGURES for our expenditures on "unimportant goods" tell us rather little about an individual's moral make-up, they do tell us something about a basic confusion of morality with intellectuality and taste. Van Doren himself sought to

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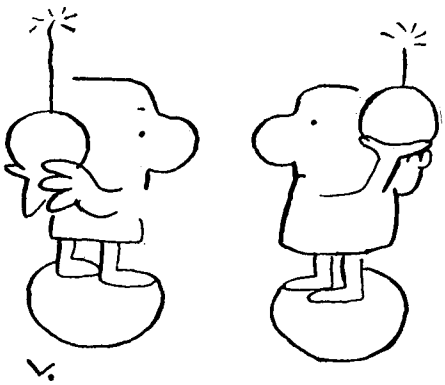
extenuate his perjury by pointing out, "I think I may be the only person who ever read seventeenth-century poetry on a network television program." And Vance Packard has seen "exciting" evidence of a spir-



itual stir in Wisconsin, where a group of neighbors "have taken up madrigal singing on Saturday nights." Everything's going to be fine if we can only learn to value the things of the mind over the things of the pocketbook—or at any rate say we do.

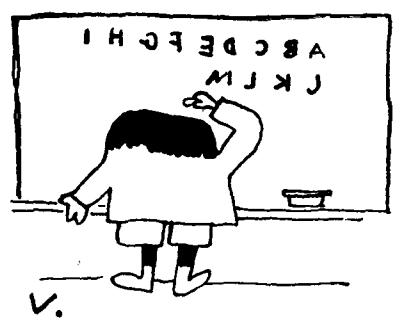
Remarkable as it may seem in view of our widespread concern over the dangers of affluence to the soul, there does not appear to be on the record a single confession by anyone—moral critics included—describing how his own sensitivities and values were crippled by his possession of wordly goods. For proof we must rely on some fairly severe denunciations of other people's kitchen appliances. "All this flood of material possessions," as a news commentator said not long ago, "is corrupting people."

Things Are Looking Up

It should be apparent by now that we are not nearly as badly off as it seemed at first. America may be having a moral crisis, but the individual American is not. All the others are, but even so it's not their fault when you come to think about it, what with the System and all.

Since most other people are bad and since their badness has less to do with the way they act than the music they listen to, it is clear what the nation needs to do in order to improve its moral character. In an article on the national purpose, Billy Graham has pointed the way. He describes how he himself climbed Mount Carmel in Israel, where in equally wicked times, he recalled, the prophets Elijah, Amos, and Micah had gone before him. Elijah, however, had called for the people to return to God: "Hear me, O Lord, hear me, that this people may know that thou art the Lord God, and that thou hast turned their heart back again." Dr. Graham took a different course. "I stood on top of Mount Carmel," he writes, "overlooking the beautiful Israeli city of Haifa, and prayed, 'Lord, help me not to be a conformist.' "

Having carefully separated ourselves from other people, we are not going to have to interrupt our madrigal singing to help our fallen brothers, whoever they may be. It will be sufficient if we merely indicate our disgust with them, which takes a good deal less time. Just as *U.S. News* in our last moral crisis

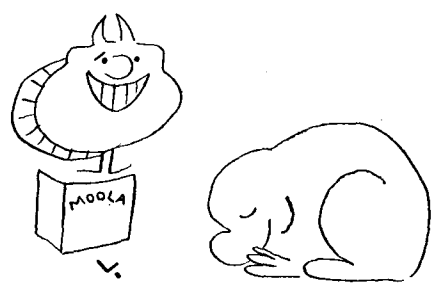


had seen the "evil" as "the weakness of the individual in his rationalized attitude toward the behavior of [other] dishonest citizens" and *Life* in 1951 had referred with nostalgia to the old-fashioned kind of "general denunciation of sin and sinners," so we are asked only to judge that we shall not be judged.

Being "alarmed" and "troubled" is clearly a beginning. Being "shocked" would be somewhat better, in the view of Bishop James A. Pike, who has discovered that "There is little sense of shock any more." Best of all, we might be revolted; as the first indication that we may yet be saved, Arthur Schlesinger, Sr., has hailed "a tide of moral revulsion" sweeping across the country.

Saved we shall be, no doubt. For when morality does not involve behavior—only the approval and disapproval of other people's behavior—it is just as easy to save a country as a soul. All that is needed is a little healthy discussion. Already the signs are in the air that we are on our way back to virtue. Not only are we said to be "yearning," "hungering," and "longing" to be good, but Professor Schlesinger has even perceived, as Elton Trueblood did before him, "a growing discontent with purely material ends in life." For better or for worse, for affluenter or for poorer, it appears that we are about to forgive ourselves once more. Again there is the beginning of national unanimity on this crucial point. "Our present deep concern for what is happening to our moral climate reveals the basic strength of American morality," as *Cosmopolitan* puts it.

INDEED, it is likely that the Fund for the Republic's report will fall on deaf but righteous ears two years from now in the middle of another religious revival. The Fund's study of religious institutions, after all, recently landed in the middle of a moral collapse. Lest Dr. Hutchins's moral task force despair at this prospect, it should be pointed out that they are serving the useful purpose of institutionalizing the highs and lows of American virtue. Moreover, whatever their conclusions may turn out to be, the decision to undertake the study in the first place constituted an important step toward our regeneration. This self-healing process requires many studies of our badness to make us good again. For



only when we have talked about our failings long enough shall we have demonstrated that we really don't have them, and only when we have accused enough other people will our confession be complete, and we'll be good again—until the next time.

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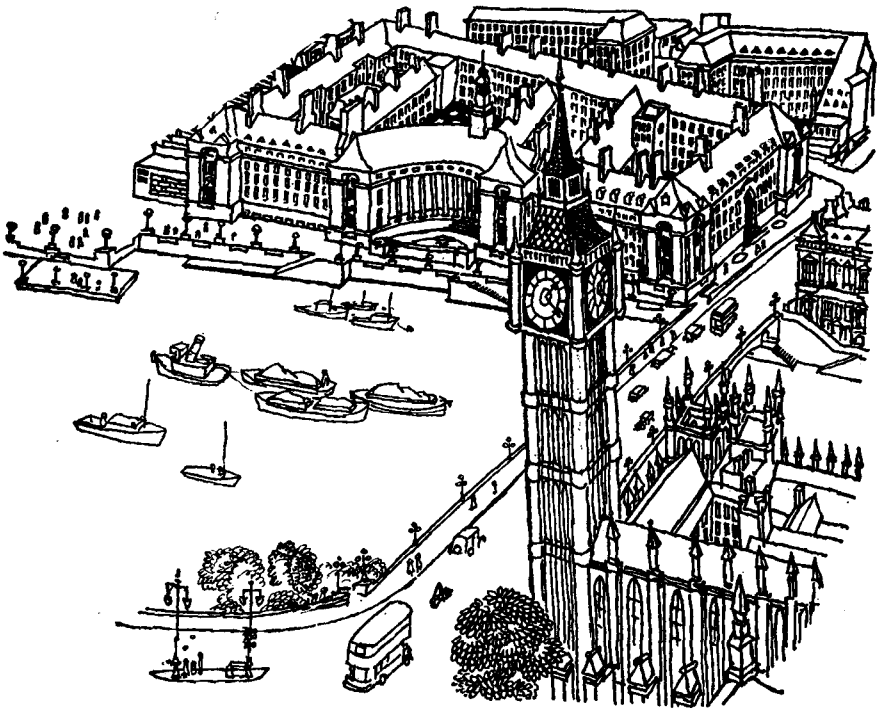

NATO Awaits The Word from Washington

ALASTAIR BUCHAN

IT IS A TRIBUTE to the world's enormously high expectations of President Kennedy—Cuba notwithstanding—that every aspect of policy in every western capital hangs in suspense until the new administration has made up its mind. In no instance is this more true than in considerations of the future structure and strategy of NATO. For it is clear that the new administration is bringing a useful mixture of vigor and experience—consultants from the original firm of architects like Dean Acheson and Paul H. Nitze, the new Assistant Secretary of Defense for International Security Affairs, and able construction engineers like Henry A. Kissinger and Albert Wohlstetter—to remodel a building that is becoming antiquated and unsafe.

NATO's problems assume different proportions when viewed from different geographical points within the treaty area, and no observer can claim a bird's-eye view. Seen from London, there are three that clearly demand urgent consideration, each probably insoluble without progress on the others. The first concerns the fact that NATO is becoming more rather than less dependent on nuclear weapons at a time when leading western governments are struggling to restore greater flexibility to their individual strategies. The second is the touchy and involved question of control over long-range nuclear weapons, and all that is involved in the idea of a "NATO deterrent." And the third is the reform of the machinery and structure of the alliance to enhance political unity and increase its effectiveness for purposes not merely of defense but also of diplomacy.

The nuclearization of NATO's armed forces has troubled many serious students of the defense of Europe—in the United States, in Britain, and on the Continent itself—ever since the heads of government met in Paris in December, 1957, in the somewhat panic atmosphere engendered by Sputnik I, and decided to accelerate the distribution of tactical atomic weapons throughout the "shield" forces in Central Europe. Yet since 1954, when the decision in principle was taken to employ them, their value as a stiffening of the shield forces has become more and more open to question. The facile argument that they decisively favor the defense has been pretty well exploded. The possibility of fighting a limited nuclear war in Central Europe, of introducing nuclear weapons into the defensive battle without a very high risk of invoking total thermonuclear conflict, has become increasingly remote, for the two reasons that Henry A. Kissinger, once the principal architect of the idea, has suggested in his new book, *The Necessity for Choice*. It has proved impossible to evolve an acceptable and watertight military doctrine of limited nuclear war, and the introduction of long-range missiles minimizes the chance of keeping it limited. As the Soviet forces increasingly become equipped with nuclear weapons for use in the battlefield, there is a growing consensus throughout Europe that by our policy we have merely raised the lethal potential of a war in Europe—for even a war that was limited to the battlefield and left London and New York unscathed would be total for Hanover or Frankfurt—without increasing the security of the Atlantic area. And as the weapons are actually introduced into the shield forces, there are disturbing reports of the extent to which local commanders now regard themselves as wholly dependent on their use to meet even minor trouble.

More Men, More Money

Yet though the analysts and the political oppositions voice their doubts and fears, governments hang back from facing the dread political implication of any decision to reverse the policy of 1957—the need to mobilize and maintain more

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men in uniform. The British have embarked on a gamble that seems to grow more risky with every quarter's returns, namely to replace conscription by a purely volunteer army of 165,000 men, which will only just enable Britain to maintain three divisions in Germany—and few British politicians have dared suggest that some form of compulsory service be retained. Except for France, with its ancient traditions of conscription and a sufficiency of manpower if the Algerian trouble were settled, all the countries of the European Economic Community have booming economies and dread the political consequences of being asked to direct manpower into the larger forces-in-being which a reduced emphasis on tactical nuclear weapons would require. The German Christian Democrats in particular, having been encouraged by the Eisenhower administration to lower their manpower ceilings when tactical atomic weapons were first introduced and to swallow the unpleasant implication of having them on their own soil, are now fearful of a change in American policy. In an election year such a change would prove political dynamite for them.

Consequently, the belief of the new administration as put forward by Dean Rusk at the recent meeting of the NATO Foreign Ministers in Oslo, that less emphasis should be placed on nuclear weapons and more on conventional forces in Europe, must be accompanied by some incentive that will make it possible for European politicians to confront their publics—who do not read works of strategic analysis but do have long memories about the dangers of large standing armies—with the need for more men in uniform and more money to be allotted to conventional weapons.

In my view, Washington would be wise to place its emphasis on the latter, to insist on an improvement in the quality of the "shield" forces rather than a large increase in their size. Money is much more readily available in Europe today, and a steady increase in the firepower, mobility, and efficiency of the shield forces would strengthen NATO diplomacy every bit as much as a mere increase in their size.

Meanwhile there is the second major problem, the fact that strategic nuclear weapons, whether American, British, or eventually French, remain outside the control of the alliance, with Britain and France expending scarce resources that could be used to improve the non-nuclear defenses of Europe. This situation has two separate elements. As far as American weapons are concerned, the direction of technical advance—the acceleration of Polaris and the success of Minuteman—will have the effect of restoring the physical balance that existed at the time NATO was founded in the late 1940's and early 1950's, when the power of the United States to threaten Russia was exercised for the most part independently of European bases. Yet the psychological balance of the alliance has altered out of all recognition over the years. The European countries are no longer prostrate, glad of any help or protection they can get, but proud and dynamic societies, able to exercise a fairly independent diplomacy and capable of being obstructive if they are not given the opportunity to be constructive. This does not mean that there is now much serious doubt among most European governments over the integrity of the American commitment to the defense of Europe in a crisis, as there was in the mid-1950's when Mr. Dulles constantly reminded his European colleagues that NATO was only one of many American obligations. (Where such doubts are expressed, as they still are in France, they prove on examination to be a rationalization of a desire to develop independent strategic deterrents for reasons of prestige.) What this does mean is that there will never be a united diplomacy or policy in NATO until the resurgent European half of it is more closely associated with the formulation, rather than just the execution, of American strategic policy. And it is American strategic policy, after all, that will shape American policy on arms control and the other major subjects of East-West diplomacy for many years to come.

THE other element in the problem is the continuation of the British and French independent deterrents. The two are not to be equated, since the French deterrent will not become minimally operational for several years, whereas the British V-bomber force will reach its maximum strength of some two hundred planes next year. But they are interconnected in the sense that President de Gaulle is most unlikely to relinquish the French program while the British maintain theirs, though de Gaulle officially maintains that the future of the French nuclear force does not depend on any decision the British may take. There is increasing disillusionment in London with the military and political value of the British deterrent, expressed from the Conservative as well as the Labour benches in the March debates and increasingly evident among officials in Whitehall. Moreover, Britain's decision to enter the European Economic Community if reasonable terms can be negotiated with France suggests the need to find a formula that will rally the other five members of the European Six to its side. This implies the need to allay Continental suspicion of British military policy, and the government is therefore considering the possibility of putting its nuclear bomber force under the control of the NATO Council. But it will probably be some time before the conflict between the Foreign Office, anxious to strengthen Britain's position in Europe, and the services, fearful of weakening their special position in Washington, can be resolved.

The Semantics of Control

A number of people, in governments and outside, have tried to devise means whereby the alliance itself could exercise control of all nuclear weapons based in Europe—American, French, and British, tactical or strategic. Some day I think that some such system must emerge if NATO is to inspire confidence down the years. But it may first have to acquire some of the confederal features that Mr. Kissinger outlined in *The Reporter* of February 2, 1961—and the British Conservatives, the French Gaullists, and the American Congress are none of them ready to move so far at present.

It therefore remains to be seen whether the Kennedy administration can devise a policy that will go some distance toward NATO control of nu-

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clear weapons in the short run and by more pragmatic means. My own view is that it would be well advised to tackle this question of the control in French, not English. For *controle* (discussion, criticism, a candid examination and elucidation in advance of all the factors involved) is what the European governments want much more than control in the sense of fingers on the button. It was the desire *pour controler* American policy which led to the decision to create first a British and then a French nuclear deterrent, and which induced the marked restiveness of the smaller governments during the last years of the Eisenhower administration. This is not a question of a biennial briefing by a Secretary of State on the broad sweep of American policy, but rather of closer day-to-day contact between American military and political planners and their European opposite numbers. It is too little appreciated how much American practice restricts American officials from discussing with their allied colleagues questions even indirectly bearing on any problem that involves SAC or nuclear weapons. At SHAPE and other NATO headquarters there are separate American channels and cells, and the number of staff papers marked "American eyes only" inevitably goads proud men like de Gaulle to break the system, quite apart from hampering collective diplomacy by making it impossible to discuss its basic foundations. To liberalize the relevant legislative practices may be a stiff request to make of Congress and the American bureaucracy, since it involves abandoning the American stereotype about the inadequacy of European security methods. But if the President could make clear that whatever might be lost by an occasional leak—no worse, at that, than those to the American technical press—would be fully compensated for in terms of European confidence, it seems possible that his words would be heeded.

ANOTHER FIELD that needs careful scrutiny is the structure and the machinery of the alliance. One reform would be to enhance the authority of the NATO Council by discouraging the appointment of men who are mere professional representatives, and encouraging the appointment of those who have some political standing in their own country. A second change, which seems overdue, is an alteration of the balance of European and American responsibilities in NATO. The alliance can operate effectively only if there is an American in Europe with great authority in Washington and direct access to the President, and who can deal with European governments in his own right. This is the function that General Gruenther and General Norstad have performed with such skill. But there are good grounds for suggesting that the job should no longer be performed by a soldier. For one thing, a survey of the senior ranks of the U.S. forces suggests that there is no outstanding military figure with Norstad's extraordinary flair for European diplomacy. For another, the starkest problems that now confront NATO are political, not military. For a third, the principle of *controle* suggests the need for a more senior European figure in the hierarchy of alliance command. Some day an American Secretary-General of the NATO Council and a European Supreme Commander might produce a better balance than the present formula. The proposal cannot be argued dogmatically, for its validity depends partly on the personalities available, but it is nonetheless worth discussing.

A THIRD ALTERATION should be in the machinery for military planning. The original system, whereby responsibility for formulating the military policy of the alliance was to be concentrated in the hands of powerful representatives of the British, American, and French chiefs of staff sitting in Washington—the Standing Group—has broken down. The smaller NATO countries, led by Canada, are increasingly unwilling to leave so much responsibility in the hands of the Big Three; and as every aspect of military policy has acquired increasing political significance, more and more of it is conducted at the political level.

The consequence is that General Norstad, whose role should be that of a field commander, has been forced *faute de mieux* to assume the duties of chief of staff of the alliance—a dangerous and unpopular position to which he ought never have been exposed. What seems to be needed is the formation of a powerful international civil-military staff working in Paris under the direction of a revitalized Council, with its

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senior appointments in the hands of experienced men from the senior military powers. SHAPE would then revert to its proper function—difficult enough in view of the enormous area for which it is responsible—of an operational field headquarters. Without the creation of a strong civil-military staff, the much-publicized decision taken at the Oslo meeting of the NATO Foreign Ministers, which extended the area of joint consultation to the new fields of the cold war such as Southeast Asia or Latin America, will be largely meaningless.

A First Step

These reforms can be criticized as mere palliatives. But NATO cannot be reorganized and revitalized overnight, and the modest reforms that are outlined here should set a more powerful train of events in motion. With the acknowledgment that it is *controle* rather than control that America's junior partners are seeking, the arid debate about fingers on the button could be clarified and America's diminishing military dependence on Europe could be offset. By making the NATO Council the main channel of American views, both political and strategic, *controle* would be enhanced, and the world's image of NATO as an organization of generals would be modified without in any way weakening its real military strength. If the United States treated all its NATO allies with candor on military and political questions, the British and French arguments for buying themselves a special channel of influence would be weakened and the irrelevance of their independent deterrents would become more clearly visible. If there were a European Supreme Commander and senior French officers in the new joint planning staff, de Gaulle's scornful attitude toward NATO—as a cloak for the American domination of Europe—could be modified and he might become more willing to lend his great authority to improving the conventional defenses of Europe.

The distant goal of the Atlantic Community must be more ambitious. But it is for an inkling of the first practical steps that Europe will be carefully watching the news from Washington.

The Kennedy Talent Hunt

ADAM YARMOLINSKY

THE PROCESS of filling jobs in a new administration has not always turned out to be an exercise in the recognition of excellence. Yet surely there is no more comprehensive single opportunity to affect the quality of leadership in the United States than that afforded by a change of national administration. Aside from the new heads of the ten Cabinet departments and of the dozen or so other major agencies, plus their deputies and principal assistants, there are several hundred "confidential and policymaking" jobs, as well as diplomatic posts in which replacements are usually made.

Rusk

New administrations have brought periodic influxes of new talent into government at least as far back in this century as the first Roosevelt. Until November, 1960, however, there was apparently no organized effort to recruit men of talent outside the regular civil-service channels. This lack of organization is not surprising in view of the limited size of the Federal establishment during the first third of the century, and its piecemeal growth through the period of the depression and the Second World War.

The Eisenhower administration was the first to face the problem of staffing all the "political" posts in a full-scale modern government at once. Unfortunately, the Republican emphasis on the paramount values of private enterprise made any intensive program of recruiting for positions below the Cabinet level quite difficult. A number of good people came to Washington, but they tended to regard their tours of duty essentially as interruptions (frequently no more than brief interruptions) in a private career. The key question in recruiting was too often one of availability. Significantly, the Eisenhower administration had the most success with its honor-graduate program in the Department of Justice, designed to recruit young men just out of law school, on the frank assumption that they would stay in government only long enough to acquire skills and knowledge that would be readily marketable in private practice.

Mr. Shriver's Task Force

The decision to devote an organized, intensive effort to finding the best possible people for the key jobs in the new administration was taken by Mr. Kennedy in the first few days after his hairbreadth victory. During the campaign he had assembled a tremendously energetic collection of people, transplanting them from their usual surroundings to work in an unfamiliar territory on unfamiliar problems. Those happy few for whom the campaign trail stretched back through West Virginia and Wisconsin were very much a little band of brothers. The problem was to enlarge the group sufficiently to govern a great nation, to do so without lowering the level of quality (which was extraordinarily high) or losing the sense of common purpose, and to accomplish all this in a period of less than ninety days. There was little disposition and even less time for preliminary analysis. Nor was there any opportunity to test conclusions against experience.

The first steps in the Kennedy

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talent hunt reflected the more or less intuitive nature of the operation. To lead the hunt, the President-elect chose the most outgoing member of his immediate circle, who was generally thought to have the widest range of acquaintanceship, his brother-in-law R. Sargent Shriver. Shriver was trained as a lawyer and worked as a magazine journalist before taking up a business career. The associates he chose to work with him on the talent hunt can be said to have had a common denominator in the variety of their professional experience and their breadth of acquaintanceship.

EVEN while he was selecting his associates, Shriver began calling the amateur talent scouts among his acquaintances to ask them for names. Without defining what he was looking for except to say that he was helping to find people for key positions in the new administration, he excluded several considerations: availability, government experience, qualifications for any particular job, and party affiliation. The first task that he assigned to his associates was to make the same kind of canvass among their acquaintances.

This broadside inquiry concealed a number of major premises, no less important for the fact that they were not expressed:

¶ It assumed a quality of excellence which, if not universal, was at least recognizable within the society of an enormous and diverse nation-state, and was generally adaptable to the highest tasks of governing that state.

¶ It assumed that this quality could be developed in a number of walks of life other than a career in government itself.

¶ It assumed that the same quality was in general demand outside government, so that it would not only be recognized but sought after, and those possessing it would be difficult to disengage.

¶ Last, it assumed that there are identifiable persons in every kind of activity who have a superior ability to recognize this generalized quality.

NAMES SOON began to accumulate, in letters, in notes of telephone conversations, on the backs of old envelopes, accompanied by descriptions ranging from a vague phrase through an acute thumbnail sketch to a full résumé. The need for a system to catalogue the information became acute. This need was met by a printed form, with room on one side for vital statistics (name, address, source of recommendation, education, experience, references) and on the other side for an evaluation of the man's abilities. Here a determined effort to consult the experi-

McNamara

ence of government and industrial personnel experts produced disappointing results. They could suggest some short cuts in marshaling facts, but no relevant criteria for evaluating them or for seeking the evaluations of others. Among the tests suggested by industrial management consultants—and rejected—were the rate at which the candidate's income had increased and the number of persons he had supervised.

As the form was finally reproduced, the evaluation of a man's ability was to be based on a series of telephone interviews with persons who had known him, designed to elicit information about the circumstances of their acquaintanceship and their opinion of the man on six criteria: judgment, toughness, integrity, ability to work with others, industry, and devotion to the principles of the President-elect. It also inquired whether the candidate under consideration knew other qualified people in his own field of specialty ("wide acquaintanceship," "limited acquaintanceship," "only local contacts"), and whether his appointment to a government position would enhance the administration's status ("nationally, in his professional group, in his state, in his community"). These two complementary tests were a rough measure of the recognition already accorded to the excellence of the man under consideration. They did not obviate the need for an independent evaluation of his abilities and his qualifications for the job in hand.

As a matter of fact, the printed form was seldom used as a formal basis for the hundreds, if not thousands, of telephone interviews conducted by the talent hunters. But the discussion that gave rise to selection of these particular criteria was helpful in fixing general standards of judgment in the minds of the interviewers. Most of the criteria are obvious. Perhaps the least obvious—and the one that excited the most newspaper comment when a copy of the form was captured by an enterprising reporter—was toughness. What was meant here was primarily the ability to make use of the vast resources of government without becoming, as some political appointees have become in the past, merely instruments of their permanent staff. It was thought of as the defensive complement to a positive quality of leadership, rather than as an aggressive assertion of authority.

THE OMISSION of "leadership ability" as an explicit criterion of selection seems in retrospect particularly significant, the more so because at the time it was not even discussed as a possible item for the list. Not that this omission signified any lack of concern for the quality: potential leaders were the object of the search, after all. Rather it was assumed, without discussion, that

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leadership was the sum of the qualities specifically prescribed.

The assumption did not always prove accurate. Too often a candidate with all the catalogued virtues fell short in this one essential. The area in which the judgments of others were most likely to be inadequate was in the appraisal of a man's capacity to produce decisive action in a large organization. There are a few key jobs in government that call for the talents of the wise counselor who need not be a captain of thousands or even of tens. But these jobs are few indeed. Here the talent hunt suffered from the fact that an implicit major premise was too long left unexpressed.

'Washington Is Calling, Sir'

While battalions of volunteer typists were putting thousands of names on forms, the talent hunters were involved, along with every articulate adult American, in the game of choosing the Cabinet. During this period, the President-elect remarked to one of his advisers that he thought he had met everyone in the United States while he was campaigning, but he found that when he came to look for Cabinet officers, he knew only a few politicians. In fact, the President's acquaintanceships extend into classrooms as well as clubrooms. When a nominee for the Council of Economic Advisers observed self-depreciatingly that he was an ivory-tower economist, Mr. Kennedy replied that he was rather an ivory-tower President.

Cabinets are expected to be representative in certain traditional ways, and this Cabinet includes its share of Westerners and Midwesterners, together with one Southerner and two New Englanders. It includes two Jews, a Catholic, and a Mormon. And it has the traditional majority (barely) of lawyers. Though it has been described as being made up of nine strangers and a brother, only two members were complete strangers to the President and to each other—and another two were members of the same club that the President had belonged to at Harvard.

The process of selecting the Cabinet was, in sum, a curious combination of the subjective and the impersonal. The President-elect made it very clear very early that he was not choosing a board of directors. He valued his Cabinet officers more for themselves than for their constituencies, and he looked for ability rather than for status. On the other hand, he was not selecting independent chief executives for separate enterprises. He was rather choosing his principal assistants who would help him to direct the affairs of government in the areas assigned to them. Their ability to work harmoniously with the President was the first qualification for high office. Because the President puts a premium on independent ability, it is a prerequisite of a harmonious relationship.

The key to this relationship, however, is a matter of personal style. This style, as a common denominator, is more usually recognized in retrospect. No group of talent hunters can expect to identify the elusive elements except by a process of trial and error—which may account for

what seemed to some observers the painfully slow speed at which the Cabinet was selected.

As soon as the first Cabinet appointment was announced, however, the focus of the talent hunt began to shift from Cabinet to sub-Cabinet positions. Thousands of half-completed forms had been sorted into rough piles by department or agency. Forms for candidates who seemed to be qualified for more than one department (which was true of seventy to eighty per cent) were reproduced on a mechanical copying machine, and the slippery brown copy sheets found their way into other folders. Certain agencies and certain kinds of people defied classification. The complex of activities that includes the International Cooperation Administration, the Development Loan Fund, the Export-Import Bank, and some parts of the State Department was finally lumped together as "foreign economic operations." And lawyers, except where they had special interests and aptitudes that were revealed in the initial sorting, accumulated into two overflowing files labeled "Utility Infielders—Senior" and "Utility Infielders—Junior."

In preparation for the first meeting with a new Cabinet officer, the department file was culled over, promising forms were extracted, additional information was sought by telephone interview, both about the nature of the jobs to be filled and about the people to fill them, and lists of candidates were made up. To that first meeting, the Cabinet officer himself brought a list of names, many of which were turned over to the talent hunters for additional screening.

The screening process at this stage was as unsystematic as the original collection and sorting of names. A good deal of it was done by temporary volunteer consultants, brought in by members of the original group of talent hunters. These men, each of whom concentrated on a single department, were with one exception Washington lawyers. This was not the result of a deliberate decision, but, given the circumstances, they were natural choices. They were already familiar with the web of government and relations with government that extends from Washington and New York into every metropolis, both commercial and academic. The only professional group with roughly equivalent expertise, the Washington press corps, was excluded from this kind of activity by the political mores.

When the professional politicians started adding their nominations, the contributions were not significantly different from the material already on hand, although they swelled the files even more. Whether inspired by the example of the initial talent hunt, now much publicized, or whether they only thought it good politics, the pros appeared to be applying the same standards. The few exceptions stood out the more plainly because of their rarity. If anything, the names suggested by politicians were a little more obvious, representing for the most part

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a group of men who had already made their mark in the world. The long shot or the potential late-bloomer was less likely to be found in this group.

The Right Mix

Any political organization in the United States is almost pathologically sensitive to charges that it is discriminating against minorities. The approach to the problem was most direct with the most obvious minorities; to wit, Negroes and women. Here names of qualified candidates were specifically sought, and if these groups were underrepresented in the final mix, the blame must be laid at the door of a society that either denies them adequate training or motivates them not to seek it. Where the alleged discrimination has given unfair advantage to a favored minority, as in the case of Harvard graduates and Cantabrigians generally, it can only be reported that this charge very early created an added hurdle for the alleged favorites.

In fact, the search for candidates outside the Eastern centers of learning and marts of commerce was intensified, in a number of instances, in order to avoid the charge of sectional bias. A complementary problem arose, however, when the political barometer registered the fact that no Rhode Islander, or no Ukrainian American, or no Seventh Day Adventist had yet been named to a post of profit and trust under the new administration. The effort to find a candidate with such special qualifications who could also meet established standards of excellence strained the talents of the talent hunters.

There are still some suspicious Midwesterners who claim that the New Frontier stops at the banks of the Hudson, if not at the banks of the Charles. But the argument that the Kennedy administration is part of an Eastern Ivy League Establishment breaks down on at least two counts: an impeccable background gave no assurance of selection; the most improbable background was likely only to arouse greater interest. What the New Frontier had to offer its recruits was not a formula but an opportunity. Its motto was expressed in the words of the Inaugural: "Let us begin."

Trouble on the Kolkhozy

ISAAC DEUTSCHER

THE CONFLICTS over Laos and Cuba, the deadlock in negotiations over the nuclear-test ban, and even the triumphs of Soviet cosmonautics have not been able to overshadow, in Soviet eyes, the critical condition of Soviet farming.

From Moscow and other cities the reappearance of queues outside food shops has been reported: meat and dairy products have been in short supply. Khrushchev somewhat incongruously concluded a series of ecstatic eulogies of Major Gagarin with a long and insistent appeal to farmers for more output. One could almost hear him sigh in public: "Oh, if we could only conquer our own countryside as easily as we are conquering outer space!" His drive against theft and embezzlement in the collective farms and phony statistics is still on, and he has now strengthened the drive with Draconic measures—deportations, jail, and even the death penalty.

This campaign, one suspects, serves the Soviet premier as a kind of escapism. It is not that there is any lack of theft, cheating, and playing with phony statistics. But these are the symptoms rather than the causes of the plight of Soviet farming. Kolkhoz chairmen falsify output figures when output is poor, and they are inclined to cheat the administration when it makes unrealistic demands on them. It was to be expected that after two bad harvests, for which the bureaucracy is blaming the people on the spot, phony progress reports would be more abundant than usual.

Yet even the bad harvests do not account for all the official alarm. True enough, the income of the rural population from sales of foodstuffs to the government has fallen from 135 billion rubles (13.5 billion new rubles) in 1958 to about 100 billion (10 billion new rubles) in 1960. But 100 billion rubles is still about three times as much as the peasantry earned in the last years of the Stalin era. The increase has reflected a rise in output but mainly a rise in the official prices for agricultural products—the decision to raise prices was the most important concession to the peasantry made soon after Stalin's death.

IT IS NOW CLEAR that the post-Stalinist improvement in farming has been followed by new stagnation and even decline. The concessions to the peasantry have proved inadequate. The stimulus they gave to farming was enough to produce the upward swing of 1953-1958 but it is now more or less exhausted. A reformulation of policy is overdue, but government and party are not ready for it. Meanwhile, economists and planners are debating publicly the ways and means by which further progress may be secured, and their discussion provides fresh information about the state of the rural economy and some dilemmas of Soviet domestic policy.

The obstacles to a rationalization of Soviet agriculture are not new: the rigidity and stupidity of bureaucracy, and the conservatism and backwardness of the farmers.

Grave as are the faults of the bureaucracy, these have been made even worse in the last two years by the government's indecision, which con-

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trasts strikingly with its earlier initiative and verve in reforming agricultural policy. The officials who deal directly with the farmers are distracted by contradictory instructions. They are expected to be liberal and illiberal at the same time. They are told that they must not interfere with the autonomous working of the farms and they are warned that they must not give the farmers too much rope. They are urged to offer incentives for higher productivity and are denied the means to make the incentives real. The result is an extraordinary muddle. In some areas, for instance, the *kolkhozniki* consume nearly all their increased income and refuse to make the necessary investments; in others, officialdom compels them to reinvest so much that little is left for consumption. To take another example: in the Caucasus the size of privately owned cattle herds has nearly doubled since Stalin's days, whereas the collectively owned herds have not increased at all. In the Ukraine, on the contrary, the managements of the collective farms have bought up from private hands—that is, from their own members—all the cattle they could get; but as they did not have enough accommodation and fodder for the increased herds, many of the cattle have perished. (Khrushchev himself has described the waste of millions of sheep while they were being transported to Central Asia.)

Still the Private Farmer

Soviet economists dwell on the backwardness of the rural population as well as on bureaucratic weak-mindedness and arbitrariness. The productivity of the farm laborer, they maintain, amounts at most to one-third of that of the urban industrial worker. Whereas the United States employs only six per cent or so of its manpower in agriculture, the Soviet Union employs nearly twenty per cent—and the Soviet public is constantly being reminded of this contrast. The agricultural labor force of the Soviet Union is still almost as large today as it was twenty years ago, though it should be noted that the urban population has nearly doubled in the meantime. (Agricultural output has gone up by sixty per cent, officially.)

Thirty years after forcible collectivization, the son or the grandson of the peasant expropriated by Stalin still remains attached to the tiny plot of land, about one acre, that he is allowed to own privately; and this tiny plot competes with the vast collective fields for his labor time. Even in areas of the most "advanced" farming, men spend thirty per cent of their effective working hours on the private plot, and women over fifty per cent. During the harvesting season, the kolkhoz manager has to make desperate efforts to drag them from the private to the collective fields. This situation is bound to prevail as long as the farmer makes more money on his tiny plot than in the kolkhoz; and he is still selling his private produce at higher prices than those the government pays to the kolkhoz.

Not less disquieting to the government than this conflict between private and collective interests within each kolkhoz is the antagonism between rich and poor kolkhozy. In the absence of any precise statistics, one suspects that the majority of the collective farms are poor, working on poor soil, with too little cattle or equipment. The less profitable a kolkhoz, the more do its members depend on incomes from private plots. In the "rich" kolkhozy, the collectives have more inherent economic strength, and the private plot means less to the farmer. But the well-to-do kolkhozy are a minority; and it is precisely their strength that makes for tension between the rich and the poor in the countryside. Under the surface of collectivism, something in the nature of class struggle goes on. True, the government no longer sees in the aspirations of the more prosperous farmers the threat to itself and to urban collectivism that Stalin's government saw. Nevertheless the backwardness, the chaotic conditions, and the inner cleavages in farming are still a drag on the urban economy.

THIS was the background against which the Central Committee deliberated on the situation in farming last January. The official reports have disclosed little about the real proceedings of that session. All that has been announced is the decision to reduce the prerogatives of the Ministry of Agriculture, to transfer effective supervision over farming to the State Planning Commission, and to set up some new administrative bodies. These bureaucratic reshufflings have provided no answer to the problems. Like Khrushchev's fulminations against corruption, they have merely served to cover up a conflict of policies within the Central Committee, a conflict which is, however, clearly revealed in the public debates among the economists.

Proxies for Communism

DENIS WARNER

IN THE SPRING of 1955, while the first SEATO Council was meeting in Bangkok, a western military attaché and a Vietnamese named Tran van Dinh, who ten years earlier had been chief of staff of the Lao-Viet Liberation Army in Vientiane, talked over the functions of the new treaty organization and the security of Southeast Asia.

"This is the way the Communists will come," said the western officer, pointing to the map spread out on a table in front of him. And he ran his pencil through the Porte de Chine, China's gateway to Tonkin, describing over the rest of Southeast Asia a series of lines that spread out from the main invasion route.

"You are wrong," said the Vietnamese, taking the pencil and scoring the map with lines that covered Southeast Asia with a series of interlocking circles. "They will come this way."

The Southeast Asia Treaty Organization, formed under Secretary of State Dulles's guidance in 1954,

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is a conventional military alliance designed to meet a conventional military threat. Over the years the SEATO planning staffs drew up well-formulated conventional plans for every conceivable form of conventional military assault against the treaty area from Communist China or North Vietnam. They had no plans, however, for the type of "aggression" involved in a Communist war of national liberation. Thus, by the time SEATO was reluctantly prepared to consider action at its Council meeting this March, the war in Laos was already lost and the Royal Laotian Army had been defeated without ever really being called on to fight. A similar situation appears to be shaping up very rapidly in South Vietnam.

Contiguous borders, such as those which separate Laos from North Vietnam and Communist China and South Vietnam from North Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia, are obviously helpful to the Communists in fighting wars of national liberation. But they are by no means essential. The general rules for preparing a war of national liberation, based on Mao Tse-tung's experience in the Chinese civil war, were laid down by Liu Shao-chi, chairman of the National Defense Council, at the Trade Union Conference of Asian and Australasian Countries in Peking in November, 1949. Liu called for the creation of Communist Parties in all designated territories, the formation of national united fronts led by the Communist Party, and the establishment of national liberation armies under Communist leadership as a prelude to liberation wars fought from rural bases and co-ordinated with nonmilitary activity in the towns and cities.

Ripe for the Plucking

The Peking *People's Daily* stressed the following passage from Liu's address: "In a colony or a semi-colony, if the people have no arms to defend themselves, they have nothing. The existence and development of proletarian organizations and the existence and development of a national united front are intimately linked to the existence and development of such an armed struggle. This is the sole path for many colonial and semi-colonial peoples in their struggle for independence and liberation."

Two years later, in October, 1951, Chou En-lai said jubilantly: "The situation in Asia has undergone a fundamental change. Under the influence of the success of the Chinese Revolution, the level of consciousness of the Asian peoples has been raised to an unprecedented degree and liberation movements are developing more and more strongly with each passing day. The unity of the Chinese people and the peoples of Asia will certainly create a powerful and matchless force in the Far East which will rapidly push forward the great wheel of history in the movement for the independence and liberation of the peoples of Asian countries."

From the earliest stages, Moscow gave at least its qualified approval to the Maoist theories. Liu Shao-chi's speech to the trade-union conference was published both in *Pravda* and the Cominform journal. This imprimatur did not mean that either Peking or Moscow believed every underdeveloped country was ripe for a war of national liberation, as Peking reminded the Indian Communist Party in 1951. The process, both Mao and Ho Chi Minh repeatedly stated, was necessarily slow. Military successes were entirely dependent on political preparation.

While the United States built up the Royal Laotian Army and SEATO cast its "mantle of protection" over Laos, the Neo Lao Hak Xat Party

was creating its rural political bases and spreading its network of cells and front organizations over the Laotian countryside. Just as the Vietminh forces had once been trained in China, Pathet Lao irregulars were taken from Laos for training in Vietminh bases just north of the Laotian border. It was the return of these forces in 1958 and 1959 that produced the anguished cries from Vientiane that Laos was being invaded by the Vietminh from North Vietnam. In the later stages, when Soviet transports were flying supplies to the Plain of Jarres, Vietminh technicians and advisory groups were present; but it is improbable that organized Vietminh fighting units participated directly after 1953 and 1954, when their "volunteers" in divisional strength set up Prince Souphanouvong and the Pathet Lao in Samneua, Phongsaly, and Luang Prabang Provinces. After the French withdrawal, a repetition of such an overt act of aggression could not have been concealed: it could scarcely have failed to provoke SEATO into definite action. In any event, it was not necessary.

CIRCUMSTANCES were different in South Vietnam. The withdrawal of the Vietminh apparatus after the Geneva Agreements in 1954 left South Vietnam in a situation which one Vietnamese Communist writer compared with that which existed in Czarist Russia between 1910 and 1917, when the Communist Party, "though having to pay a high price to carry out its clandestine activities, continued to struggle actively to win the masses and to prepare them for a new revolution."

For the first two years the Communists in South Vietnam had to operate under heavy difficulties. President Ngo Dinh Diem's success in cleaning up the dissident religious sects and in destroying the corrupt Binh Xuyen, which controlled both the police and the organized vice of Saigon, facilitated the extension of his rule in the rural areas in a manner that North Vietnam had not expected.

With the formation in 1960 of the National Front for the Liberation of South Vietnam, however, and a sharp stepping up in infiltrators from North Vietnam, Diem fell back on highly unpopular countermeasures, such as summary arrest, trial, and execution and the resettlement of peasants in "agrovilles." Effective control of the countryside rapidly passed into Communist hands.

There are now guerrillas every-

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where. "Liberated" areas and the appearance of regular Communist forces recruited in the South but trained and equipped by the North are the next predictable steps in this campaign. There will be little that SEATO can identify as a clear act of aggression.

Red Sparks in Angola

In areas where such treaty organizations as SEATO do not exist, the prospects are even more propitious for the extension of wars of national liberation and the risks are even less. Much of Africa, for instance, is both anti-colonial and anti-imperialist and is full of forces that may be conveniently harnessed and led.

A difficulty here is that among many of these primitive peoples few have ever heard of Marx, Lenin, or Mao. Although Angola and Mozambique, for example, are classic illustrations of colonialism at its worst, with forced labor and fearful poverty, the natives have hitherto lacked the resources and the knowledge to start a successful revolution or even to force modest reforms.

In the March, 1961, issue of *International Affairs,* Moscow described how the breakthrough was achieved. The establishment of the Angola Communist Party in October, 1955, was the first step. Fourteen months later, with the party now an established underground force, it formed the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola. In 1959 this movement and the African Party of Independence set up a co-ordinating center called the African Revolutionary Front of Struggle for National Independence of Portuguese Colonies. All these organizations are illegal, of course. At first their activities inside Angola were confined to what the Moscow weekly *New Times* described as the "distribution of leaflets, manifestoes, action programs, and appeals for the intensification of the anti-colonial struggle."

On Easter Sunday, 1959, the Portuguese police struck back. More than a hundred and fifty Africans suspected of membership in the Communist Party, or groups associated with it in the liberation movement, were seized in Luanda alone, and large numbers of others were taken elsewhere in the territory. Instead of breaking the independence movement, however, these arrests only sparked the war of national liberation.

Two separate but now related groups swung into action. The African Revolutionary Front of Struggle for National Independence of Portuguese Colonies had become established in Conakry, the capital of Guinea, where Chinese and Russian aid and advice were readily forthcoming and North Vietnam had established a large and active mission. The Front was ready to push armed and trained insurgents into Angola from the sea and overland through the Congo, where the Union of the Peoples of Angola, with headquarters in Léopoldville, was following a similar program. Early this year, armed infiltrators from both groups swept across the border, and soon large areas in northern Angola were "liberated" or under insurgent domination.

Between April 18 and April 20, leaders of both the Léopoldville and Conakry groups met in Casablanca with representatives of other Portuguese national liberation movements from Mozambique and Portuguese Guinea. Here, according to *New Times,* they co-ordinated their plans for revolts throughout Portuguese Africa, and apparently decided to approach Peking for further material aid.

THE ACTUAL Communist strength in these liberation movements is tiny. But the tactics used and the policy of "uniting with all peoples and groups willing to be united with" are pure Mao Tse-tung. This is appreciated in Peking. This April 2, the *People's Daily,* in an editorial on the third All-African People's Conference in Cairo, noted with approval that "national liberation struggles have broken out one after the other in Angola, Mozambique, and Portuguese Guinea, which are suffering under the darkest and most barbarous rule of the Portuguese colonialists. The Angolese people have valiantly taken up arms and launched guerrilla war."

Early in May, Angolans representing the African Revolutionary Front of Struggle arrived in Peking from Casablanca. On May 8, a mass rally was held in Peking "in support of the struggle by the people of Angola." Angolan and Chinese speakers "condemned U.S. imperialism for its crimes of making use of and manipulating the United Nations and of helping to turn Angola into a second Congo." China promised firm fraternal support.

While China is certainly giving a lead in the promotion of wars of national liberation, it is questionable whether the Soviet Union is dragging its heels as much as is sometimes supposed. Moscow was much slower getting started in Algeria than was Peking; but it was more active in the critical Laotian situation, making no effort to conceal the delivery of military matériel. Writing in *International Affairs* on the eve of the Moscow conference, A. Sovetov examined Khrushchev's declaration on colonialism at the General Assembly and measured it against the policy of "peaceful coexistence." "It would be naïve, of course, to suppose that lasting 'peaceful coexistence,' the promotion of which is the aim of Soviet foreign policy, represents some abstract idyllic situation reminiscent of the biblical picture of paradise before the fall of Adam and Eve," he wrote. "The very term 'peaceful coexistence' implies the concept of two systems, each of which is striving to gain the upper hand. Inasmuch as the final victory of one of these systems throughout the world is in essence a long, bitter struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, we rightfully view 'peaceful coexistence' as the totality of the forms of the class struggle of the proletariat in the world arena—economic, political, and ideological." Imperialism could be isolated and weakened in two ways. The first was to "unmask its essence"; the second "to support all forces fighting against imperialism's policies and its henchmen." These two methods, Sovetov said, were the two basic lines of diplomacy of the Soviet States.

Hanoi Gives Some of the Aid

Potential buyers of weapons for wars of national liberation go first to Moscow, then on to Peking, and make a stopover in Hanoi. Belkacem Krim, vice-premier of the Algerian provisional government, who went to Peking to negotiate an aid program

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in May, 1960, began and ended his journey in Moscow, but included Hanoi for talks with the Vietminh (now Vietcong) commander-in-chief, General Vo Nguyen Giap. Premier Ferhat Abbas followed in his footsteps last November. One report that Giap heads a Vietminh team instructing Algerian rebels has been denied, but current Communist propaganda is liberally sprinkled with references to the help being given to the Algerian insurgents by the political and guerrilla experience of the Vietnamese.

Apart from the assistance it has given to the Angolan rebels through its Conakry mission, North Vietnam is also known to have given direct support to the Union of the People of the Cameroon, a guerrilla organization active in the western part of Cameroon.

Organizations such as the All-African People's Conference (which promoted the African Revolutionary Front of Struggle), the Asian-African Women's Conference, the Afro-Asian People's Solidarity Council, and numerous "friendship" associations, which maintain a constant flow of selected visitors from the underdeveloped world into the Soviet Union and Communist China, help spread the concept of wars of "national liberation." For members of Communist Parties from these countries, there are special schools in Peking and Moscow. Nor are these schools restricted to representatives from countries that might seem good prospects for "national liberation"—almost every member of the executive of the Australian Communist Party, for instance, has attended some sort of ideological school in Peking; and nearly a thousand Japanese passed through another Peking school of instruction in revolutionary techniques. In recent years there has been a tendency to cut the period of indoctrination, but the first Australian Communists, including a member of the central executive, went to China in 1952 and stayed for four years.

Most students who accept invitations to study in the Soviet Union and Communist China are probably not Communists or even Communist sympathizers. But they are receptive to anti-colonial and anti-imperialist propaganda, which is the basis for most wars of national liberation. It is significant, therefore, that the number of students from Latin America studying in Communist-bloc universities jumped from 167 in 1959 to 496 in 1960, while the number of Africans increased from 694 to 1,666.

The increase in touring delegations is even more marked. At the end of April there were no less than three separate Cuban delegations in Peking. There were also delegations from Jordan, Guinea, Uganda, Northern Rhodesia, the African National Congress (South Africa), and Kenya.

Talking to some of these visitors on April 28, Mao gave firm emphasis to the current trend in Chinese policies when he said that the Kennedy administration was worse than the Eisenhower administration.

Exploiting the Cuban Fiasco

The Cuban fiasco was a Communist fiesta. The Chinese government in an official statement on April 20 called Kennedy and Eisenhower "jackals of the same lair," and the *People's Daily* saw Cuba as a source of great hope. "The new armed aggression against Cuba by the United States is bound to make the Latin-

American peoples realize more deeply that the people of the entire Latin-American continent share the same destiny with the Cuban people," it said. "It is bound to make them further strengthen their unity and wage a common struggle."

Months earlier, Chou En-lai, at a banquet in honor of Major "Che" Guevara, toasted the "militant friendship" of the Cuban and Chinese peoples, an expression used on significantly few occasions and almost always in connection with some sort of military aid.

If Cuba was the "trail-blazing vanguard of the revolution in Latin America" to the Chinese leaders, it was scarcely less attractive in prospect to Khrushchev, who in his speech to the Higher Party School of the Academy of Social Sciences and the Institute of Marxism-Leninism on January 6 remarked gleefully that Latin America was no longer an American "manorial estate" and predicted that soon volcanoes there would erupt everywhere.

The Soviet Society for the Dissemination of Political Knowledge also saw promising prospects in the field of revolution in Latin America. In a survey of the situation at the end of 1960, it called for the encouragement of local Communist Parties and the stirring up of revolution. The Cuban revolution, it said, had priceless value. On March 11 the magazine *New Times* gave the broadest hint about the methods that might be adopted to exploit this value. It quoted Francisco Julião, leader of the Brazilian Peasants' League, to the effect that thousands of Brazilian peasants were prepared to volunteer for service in Cuba if the island was attacked. The National Union of Students in Brazil was also recruiting volunteers.

WHAT we must expect, therefore, is that Cuba will become a training ground for and headquarters of wars of "national liberation" in the Caribbean and elsewhere in Latin America. The French islands of Guadeloupe and Martinique have been mentioned as "ripe for revolt," as have Chile, Nicaragua, Bolivia, and Guatemala. Every country in the region has been surveyed, its dependence on and importance to the United States assessed, and its revolutionary prospects carefully catalogued. Here, as in Africa and Asia, the prospects are limitless. Every western colony, every western market or source of raw materials, every struggling underdeveloped country associated with the West is a target.

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The Seventh Fleet Is Ready

WILLIAM H. HESSLER

ABOARD THE U.S.S. CORAL SEA

With more than two hundred carrier-based planes capable of carrying nuclear bombs, the Seventh Fleet is a formidable reminder of United States strength in Eastern Asia. But its value as an instrument of foreign policy lies not merely in its striking power but in its flexibility. In one military organization it offers a whole gamut of capabilities, from good-will visits in friendly ports through limited-war operations to the ultimate threat of nuclear warfare.

Unlike long-range bombers or intercontinental ballistic missiles or an armored division, it is not an all-or-nothing tool of war. It can cruise in the neighborhood of a trouble area, for months if necessary, putting emphasis into a Presidential policy declaration. It can land and support a small force of Marines. Or it can provide air support for the friendly forces of an ally in distress. All along the 3,500-mile diagonal of tension from Tokyo to Singapore, the Seventh Fleet not only establishes our presence for diplomatic purposes but also stands ready to back up our interests in the area with either a little force or, if need be, a lot.

The Seventh Fleet is made up of 125 ships, 650 aircraft, and more than sixty thousand Navy men and Marines under the command of Vice-Admiral Charles D. Griffin. It includes shore-based patrol bomber squadrons, chiefly for anti-submarine search, and a hunter-killer group built around the anti-submarine carrier *Kearsarge* and its destroyers.

The fleet has also an amphibious force able to land Marines on beaches or to put them ashore in helicopters; this is the single task of the *Thetis Bay*, an all-helicopter carrier. At all times the fleet includes attack transports with Marine combat forces aboard. In times of trouble, close to half of the Third Marine Division (normally based on Okinawa) is afloat, in full readiness for a landing.

There are submarines, usually seven or eight, some of which can fire Regulus missiles. The submarines are solitary hunters but serve the over-all purposes of the fleet. There is an airborne early-warning group made up of three squadrons of Super Constellation aircraft loaded with radar gear and operating from Guam. These not only watch for typhoons and collect other weather data but also fill a crucial surveillance gap between the searches made by regular air patrols and surface ships. In addition, there is a flotilla of minesweepers. Finally, there is a logistic support force, some thirty ships that bring up fuel, food, ammunition, and other stores.

The main striking power of the Seventh Fleet, however, is in Task Force 77, which currently consists of close to twenty ships, including three powerful attack carriers, the *Midway*, the *Coral Sea*, and the *Lexington*. With them are supporting missile cruisers and destroyers. Each of the carriers has sixty-five to ninety combat aircraft, depending on type. The planes are F8U and F3H jet fighters, A4D light attack jets, A3D heavy attack jets of great range, and the seemingly irreplaceable propeller-type AD6. There is great flexibility in the disposition of these aircraft: a few weeks ago, up north, the *Coral Sea* had only attack aircraft; a few weeks from now there may be one or two fighter squadrons among the six on board. It depends on the job to be done.

With canted deck and three steam catapults, a carrier such as the *Coral Sea* can launch aircraft at less than thirty-second intervals, and can recover forty-five planes an hour. Its armored decks, catapults, and arresting gear are tailored to handle the A3D, with a gross weight, armed and fueled, of 75,000 pounds.

THE SEVENTH FLEET has no surface opposition, but must defend itself against enemy air and submarines. Cruisers, with their surface-to-air missiles, provide increasingly important aircraft protection. Even more important are the fighter planes flying combat air patrol over the task force. Instead of the guns of a few years ago, the fighters now employ either the heat-homing Sidewinder or the radar-guided Sparrow, both air-to-air missiles.

Ranged against the Seventh Fleet in these waters are about 130 subma-

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rines—a hundred Soviet, thirty Chinese. They are well-handled and dangerous, and the deeply etched China coast is ideal for their concealment. To deal with them, the fleet has the air and surface patrols mentioned, and vastly improved anti-submarine-warfare equipment. Detection, neglected for years after the Second World War, has been the key problem. It has been partly if not completely solved. Primarily, the answer is in the J-J sonabuoy (floating sonar) system. Highly secret as to design and performance, it can be described as an extremely sophisticated high-performance listening device—a disposable hearing aid for the fleet. Dropped to float on the water, it picks up the sounds made by hostile submarines and transmits the data to a receiver aboard the aircraft or ship employing it. It works superbly.

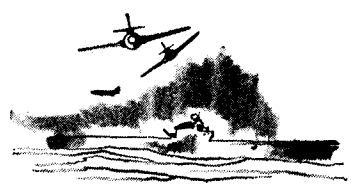
Moving Targets

Such, briefly, is the make-up of the fleet that patrols the only frontier on which America faces both the great Communist powers. As compared with other military forces, it has some marked advantages. First, it is self-contained. It reloads with fuels, stores, and ammunition at sea and under way. It has no base in the Far East, although in quieter days than now its ships may spend as much as half their time in various friendly ports. The home ports of most of its ships are in southern California, but some, maybe two dozen, are home-ported in Japan for convenience and economy. Having no base in the area, the fleet is independent of political factors. Its commander never has to ask any government, friendly or neutral, for any favor. He never has to worry about neutralist or Yankee-go-home demonstrations. Furthermore, the fleet does not embarrass any friendly country by marking it as a U.S. naval base.

Second, the fleet is a multitude of dispersed and constantly moving targets. A vessel under way at sea is all but immune to attack by any ballistic missile. And under the compulsions of the atomic age, these ships are widely dispersed. They rarely sail in a recognizable formation, except when a destroyer trails a carrier, alert to pick up any aviator who goes into the water (but usually beaten to it by the helicopter that hovers closer to the bow of the carrier and moves faster).

Normally, the carrier striking force is deployed in three task forces with one carrier in each, possibly eight hundred to a thousand miles apart. One task force is in the northern area, off Japan; one in the center, near Okinawa or Taiwan; and one in the south, between the Philippines and the Vietnamese coast. Among them, they ensure continuous potential coverage of the crucial targets of Eastern Asia. Again the disposition of ships is flexible: the deployment was quickly changed not long ago because of the situation in Laos, and a large part of the fleet was concentrated in the South China Sea.

A third advantage of the Seventh Fleet is that unlike fixed missile sites or bomber bases on land, it does not



provoke enemy attacks on the U.S. mainland—or on the territory of any of our allies. With such hypersensitive neutrals as Cambodia to reckon with, it is especially valuable to have in the fleet the means of striking without victimizing any nearby country.

YET ANOTHER advantage of the fleet in the Southeast Asian region is its ability to work in co-operation with friendly forces. Exercise Pony Express, an amphibious operation carried out in North Borneo in late April and early May, was a sample. The biggest SEATO exercise to date, it involved sixty ships, more than a hundred fighter planes, and six thousand Marines, jungle troops, and frogmen from six of the eight SEATO powers—Australia, New Zealand, Great Britain, the United States, the Philippines, and Thailand. (France was busy nearer home, and Pakistan wasn't interested.)

By working often with SEATO countries, the Seventh Fleet has laid the foundations for a joint effort in case full-scale intervention is required. If it ever came to that, great numbers of Marines, Army special forces, and other limited-war units would have to be airlifted from more distant points than a fleet standing offshore—from Okinawa, Hawaii, and the U.S. mainland, or even Western Europe. This would require local air support for the safety of transport planes coming in as well as sea support for the security of the workaday cargo ships that would have to bring in ninety-nine per cent of the vast tonnage of supplies needed. These are both tasks for the Seventh Fleet.

Louder Than Words

Small countries cannot always afford to be brave. Their policies are geared to their appraisals of what help they really can expect from stronger allies. The presence of the Seventh Fleet tends to hearten hesitant allies and to impress nervous neutrals. Even with their wings folded and jet engines silenced, the aircraft on the flight deck of a carrier riding at anchor in the harbor of a small nation may give more encouragement than words uttered in a press conference ten thousand miles away in Washington. Thailand and South Vietnam are aware that they could not last more than a fortnight or so against Communist China's power, or even that of its vassal, North Vietnam, without at least U.S. air and logistical support.

Traveling through most of Southeast Asia as well as Japan, Taiwan, and some U.S. island bases in the last two months, I have seen a number of deficiencies in the military posture maintained in the Far East by the United States and its allies. We do not yet have a good answer to the infiltration, propaganda, and subversion techniques of the Communists. Neither have we done enough to develop skillful, determined anti-guerrilla forces—our own or those of friendly countries. And we have not yet found the secret of inducing such willful autocrats as Chiang Kai-shek of Taiwan and Ngo Dinh Diem of Vietnam to mend their undemocratic ways. But these shortcomings are compensated for in some measure by our having in the Seventh Fleet a remarkably versatile instrument of foreign policy.

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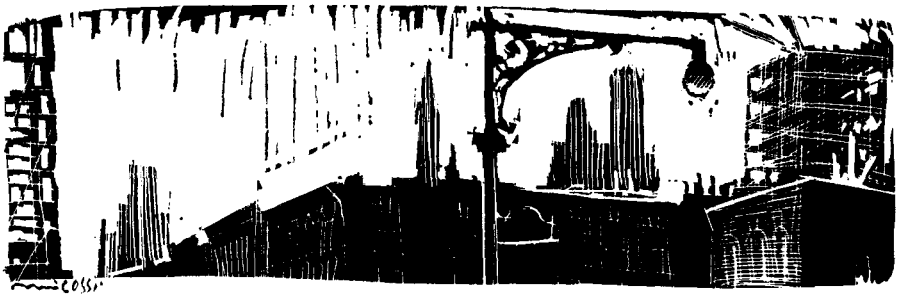

When the Irish Ran New York

DANIEL P. MOYNIHAN

NEW YORK used to be an Irish town. Or so it seemed. New York, to be sure, has never been anyone's town, but there were sixty or seventy years when the Irish seemed to be everywhere. *They* felt it was their town. It is no longer, and they know it. That is one of the things that are bothering them.

It is not hard to date the Irish era. It begins in the early 1870's: about the time Charles O'Conor, whom the *Dictionary of American Biography* calls "the ablest member of the New York bar," began the prosecution of the Honorable William Marcy Tweed. It ends some sixty years later: a good point would be the day Jimmy Walker sailed for Europe and exile with his beloved, but unwed, Betty.

Boss Tweed was the last vulgar white Protestant to win a place in the city's life. There have been Protestants since who have served the city with distinction, but always as representatives of "the better element." Tweed was hardly that: he was a roughneck, a ward heeler, a man of the people at a time when the people still contained a large body of native-born Protestant workers of Scotch and English antecedents. By the time of his death in the Ludlow Street Jail, this had all but completely changed. The New York working class had become predominantly Catholic. The Irish promptly assumed the leadership of this class. "Honest John" Kelly succeeded Tweed as leader of Tammany Hall, and in 1880 Kelly elected the city's first Irish Catholic mayor, William R. Grace of the shipping line. This ascendancy persisted for another half century, reaching a kind of apogee toward the end of the 1920's when Al Smith ran for President and Jimmy Walker "wore New York in his buttonhole."

New York was perhaps the first great city in history to be ruled by men of the people, not as an isolated phenomenon of the Gracchi or the Commune but as a persisting, established pattern. To this day the men who run New York talk out of the side of their mouths: they may be millionaires, but they are no less representative of the people. The intermittent discovery that New York does have representative government leads to periodic reform movements. But the reformers come and go, the party remains. The secret lies in the structure of the Democratic party bureaucracy, which perpetuates itself. The measure of its success is that it works with almost undiminished effectiveness long after the Irish, who created it, have moved on to other things.

IN THEIR POLITICS as in their race and religion, the Irish brought many of their traits from the Old Country. The machine governments which the Irish established in New York (as in many Northern cities) show three distinct features of early nineteenth-century Ireland.

First, a considerable indifference to Yankee proprieties. The Irish managed to make it somehow charming to steal an election—scoundrelish, rascally, surely not to be approved, but neither to be abhorred. This, it must be insisted, is something they learned from the English. Eighteenth-century English politics in Ireland was as corrupt—in Yankee terms—as is to be imagined. George Potter has written in *To the Golden Door*: "The great and the wealthy ran Ireland politically like Tammany Hall in its worst days. Had they not sold their own country for money and titles in the Act of Union with England and, as one rogue said, thanked God they had a country to sell? . . . A gentleman was thought no less a gentleman because he dealt, like merchandise, with the votes of his tenants or purchased his parliamentary seat as he would a horse or a new wing for his big house." The Irish added to this, from their own social structure, a personal concept of government action. Describing the early period of Irish self-government, Conrad H. Arensberg relates in *The Irish Countryman*: ". . . At first, geese and country produce besieged the new officers and magistrates; a favourable decision or a necessary pubic work performed was interpreted as a favour given. It demanded a direct and personal return. 'Influence' to the countryman was and is a direct personal relationship, like the friendship of the countryside along which his own life moves."

The Irish also brought to America a settled tradition of regarding the formal government as illegitimate and the informal one as bearing the true impress of popular sovereignty. The brutality of the English landlords in eighteenth-century Ireland gave rise to secret societies that fought back by terrorism. An English observer described the results: "There are in fact two codes of law in force and in antagonism—one the statute law enforced by judges and jurors, in which the people do not yet trust—the other a secret law, enforced by themselves . . ." This habit of mind pervaded the atmosphere of Tammany at its height: City Hall, like Dublin Castle, was not to be trusted. If you need help, see The McManus. The fact that the McMani were like as not running City Hall, as well as the Tuscarora

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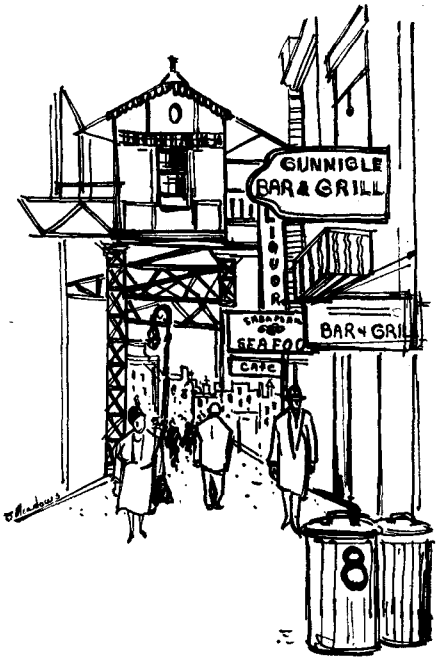
Regular Democratic Organization of the Second Assembly District South, only strengthened this habit.

Finally, most of the Irish arrived in America fresh from the momentous experience of the Catholic Emancipation movement. The Catholic Association, which the Irish leader Daniel O'Connell established in 1823 for this purpose, has been called the "first fully fledged democratic political party known to the world." "Daniel O'Connell," Potter writes, "was the first modern man to use the mass of a people as a democratic instrument for revolutionary changes by peaceful constitutional methods. He anticipated the coming into power of the people as the decisive political element in modern democratic society." The Irish peasants, who had taken little part in Gaelic Ireland's resistance to the English—that had been a matter for the warrior class of an aristocratic society—appear to have been quite transformed by O'Connell. They arrived in America thoroughly alive to the possibilities of politics and they brought with them the phenomenally effective technique of political bureaucracy.

More has been written against Tammany Hall than about it. With little evidence, it is difficult to speculate on the nature of the system during the Irish era, but some patterns can be discerned, particularly those which persist in the present Democratic party organization. Foremost is the pattern of bureaucracy. Politics in a "natural" state is pre-eminently a personal affair—a matter of whom you know and who knows you; whom you like and trust; who you think likes and trusts you; whom you can intimidate and vice versa. The personal nature of such relations makes for a fluctuating, confused, perilous enterprise. Thus politics, business, and war have ever been the affairs of adventurers and risk takers. These are anything but peasant qualities. Certainly not those of Irish peasants, who, collectively, yielded to none in the rigidity of their social structure and their disinclination to adventure. Instead of letting politics transform them, they transformed politics, establishing a political system in New York City that from a distance seems like nothing so much as the social system of an Irish village writ large. Village life was characterized by the pre-eminence of formal family relations under the dominance of the stern father. Substituting "party" for "family" and "leader" for "father," the Irish created the political machine.

According to Roy V. Peel, *The Political Clubs of New York City,* Irish Catholics achieved a position of predominance within Tammany Hall by 1817. Working from the original Tammany ward committees,



they established a vast hierarchy of party positions descending from the county leader at the top down to the block captain and beyond even to building captains. Each position had rights and responsibilities which had to be observed. The result was a massive party bureaucracy, which rivaled the medieval Catholic Church in the proportion of the citizenry involved. The county committees of the five boroughs came to number more than thirty-two thousand persons. It became necessary to hire Madison Square Garden for their meetings—and to hope not much more than half the number would show up as there wouldn't be room. The system itself was remarkably stable. "Honest John" Kelly, Richard Croker, and Charles Murphy in succession ran Tammany for half a century. Across the river Hugh McLaughlin ran the Brooklyn Democratic Party and fought off Tammany for better than forty years, from 1862 to 1903. He was followed shortly by John H. McCooey, who ruled from 1909 until his death a quarter of a century later. Ed Flynn ran the Bronx from 1922 until his death in 1953.

There is no greater nonsense than the stereotype of the Irish politician as a beer-guzzling back-slapper. Croker, McLaughlin, *Mister* Murphy were the least affable of men. Their task was not to charm but to administer with firmness and predictability a political bureaucracy in which rights appertained not to individuals but to the positions they occupied. "Have you seen your block captain?" It did not matter that your captain was an idiot or a drunk or a devout churchgoer who would be alarmed by the request at hand; the block captain had to be seen first. Then the election district captain. Then the district leader. The hierarchy had to be recognized. For the group as a whole, this served to take the risks out of politics. Each would get his deserts—in time.

At the moment no one characteristic divides the "regular" party men in New York City from the "reform" group more than the matter of taking pride in following the chain of command. The "reform" group is composed principally of educated, middle-class career people quite hardened to the struggle for advancement in their professions. Waiting in line to see one's leader seems to such persons slavish and unmanly, the kind of conduct that could only be imposed by a boss. By contrast, the "organization" regulars regard it as proper and well-behaved conduct. The reformers, who have a tendency to feel superior, would be surprised, perhaps, to learn that among the regulars they are widely regarded as rude, unethical people.

It would also seem that the term "boss," and the persistent attacks on "boss rule," have misrepresented the nature of power in the old machine system. Tammany was not simply a concentrated version of the familiar Amerian municipal power structure in which an informal circle of more or less equally powerful men—the heads of the two richest banks, the three best law firms, four largest factories, and the chancellor of the

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local Methodist university—run things. Power was hierarchical in the machine, diffused in the way it is diffused in an army. Because the commanding general was powerful, it did not follow that the division generals were powerless—anything but. In just this way the Tammany district leaders were important men; and, right down to the block captain, all had rights.

At the risk of exaggerating, it is possible to point out any number of parallels between the political machine and rural Irish society. For example, the incredible capacity of the rural Irish to remain celibate—i.e., to wait their turn—in order to earn the reward of inheriting the farm is well known. Even after an Irish son has taken over direction of the farm, he will go each morning to his father to ask what to do that day. So with the "boss," whose essential demand often seemed only that he be consulted. There is a story that one day a fellow leader of Sheriff and Sachem Thomas J. Dunn confided that he was about to be married. "Have you seen Croker?" asked Dunn. In 1913, when Governor William Sulzer refused to consult the "ahrganization" on appointments, Murphy did not argue; he impeached and removed him. Doubtless the most painful onus of the current Tammany organizations that have been overthrown by reform clubs is to hear themselves called "insurgents"!

IT SEEMS EVIDENT that the principle of boss rule was not that of tyranny but of order. When Lincoln Steffens asked Croker, "Why must there be a boss, when we've got a mayor and—a council?" "That's why," Croker broke in. "It's because there's a mayor *and* a council *and* judges—*and*—a hundred other men to deal with."

The narrow boundaries of the peasant world were ideally adapted to the preoccupations of precinct politics. The parallel role of the saloonkeeper is striking. Arensberg writes:

"The shopkeeper-publican-politician was a very effective instrument, both for the country side and for himself. He might perhaps exact buying at his shop in return for the performance of his elective duties, as his enemies charge: but he also saw to it that those duties were performed for the very people who wished to see them done. Through him, as through no other possible channel, Ireland reached political maturity and effective national strength."

So with the New York Irish. "The saloons were the nodal points of district organizations," Peel points out. It used to be said the only way to break up a meeting of the Tammany Executive Committee was to open the door and yell, "Your saloon's on fire!" At the same time a mark of the successful leader, as of the successful saloonkeeper, was sobriety. George Washington Plunkitt related with glee the events of election night in 1897 when Tammany had just elected—against considerable odds—the first mayor of the consolidated City of New York (Croker had slyly chosen for his candidate an inoffensive Old-Dutch-Family gentleman named Van Wyck):

"Up to 10 P.M. Croker, John F. Carroll, Tim Sullivan, Charlie Murphy, and myself sat in the committee-room receivin' returns. When nearly all the city was heard from and we saw that Van Wyck was elected by a big majority, I invited the crowd to go across the street for a little celebration. A lot of small politicians followed us, expectin' to see magnums of champagne opened. The waiters in the restaurant expected it, too, and you never saw a more disgusted lot of waiters when they got our orders. Here's the orders: Croker, vichy and bicarbonate of soda; Carroll, seltzer lemonade; Sullivan, apollinaris; Murphy, vichy; Plunkitt, ditto. Before midnight we were all in bed, and next mornin' we were up bright and early attendin' to business, while other men were nursin' swelled heads. Is there anything the matter with temperance as a pure business proposition?"

As a business proposition it all worked very well. The Irish habit of dealing with an informal government, combined with the establishment of an elaborate bureaucracy for that government, proved enormously effective in electoral politics. The "organization" spread to the darkest reaches of the city, places the middle-class reformers never lived in and rarely visited. Reform would come and go, but the organization remained, co-opting its members, getting out the vote, winning two elections in three, and quite able to sit out the third.

But that is about as far as it went. The Irish were immensely successful in politics. They ran the city. But the very parochialism and bureaucracy that enabled them to succeed in local politics prevented them from doing much else. In all these sixty or seventy years in which they could have done almost anything they wanted in politics, they did very little. Of all those candidates and all those campaigns, what remains? The names of two or three men: Al Smith principally, and his career went sour before it ever quite came to glory.

IN A SENSE, the Irish didn't know what to do with power once they got it. Steffens was surely exaggerating when he suggested the political bosses only kept power on the sufferance of the business community. The two groups worked in harmony, but it was a symbiotic, not an agency, relationship. The Irish leaders did for the Protestant establishment what it could not do for itself, and could not do without. But the Irish just didn't know what to do with their opportunity. They never thought of politics as an instrument of social change—their kind of politics involved the processes of a society that was not changing. Croker alone solved the problem. Having become rich, he did the thing rich people in Ireland did: he bought a manor house in England, bred horses, and won the Derby. The king did not ask him to the Derby dinner.

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Just Looking

MARYA MANNES

IN A FASCINATING study of screen movie censorship produced by CBS as one of its TV "Reports," you saw a group of Atlanta citizens deciding to ban the showing of *Never on Sunday* in their city because of obscenity. The ban has since been lifted, but the reactions of these pillars of society to the film they had just seen and to *Room at the Top* ("obscene and licentious") were both illuminating and disturbing. For the same people who passed the cheapest kind of horror and crime films and the most sex-ridden American films —like *Butterfield 8* or *Suddenly, Last Summer*—assumed attitudes of outraged virtue over any direct and honest treatment of illicit love, and especially over any gaiety or pleasure derived from it. What stuck in their craws was not only that the "heroine" of *Never on Sunday* was a prostitute but that she enjoyed her work. Even worse, according to Atlanta's chief censor, Mrs. Christine Gilliam—a garden-party lady of impeccable poise—was the use of the word "whore." "We've called them tramps," she said; "we've called them ladies of easy virtue; we've called them women—girls of the night, but that is a word that we have not customarily allowed on our screens in Atlanta, because we consider it just a little bit too rugged for a family audience . . ."

ECHOING these attitudes in Atlanta, at a meeting in Abilene, Texas, called to set up a censorship board for movies, was the oft-expressed fear for the morals of children and youths, coupled with tacit acceptance of the fact that parents exert no control over what their children see or, indeed, over what they do with their time and money.

Beyond this ambivalent concern for the young, moreover, emerges a kind of angry rigidity described in Robert W. Haney's book *Comstockery in America:* "'Many of them are so emotionally involved in the condemnation of what they find objectionable that they find rational arguments irrelevant. They must suppress what is offensive in order to stabilize their own tremulous values and consciences."

This rigidity, this condemnation—the obverse of our easy amiability—is observable in many ways in many places. The fury with which the broadcasters greeted the new FCC chairman's maiden speech to their association is a case in point. Mr. Minow, who, as John Crosby wrote, "has done the unforgivable thing for a man in his position; he has watched television," charged the broadcasters with all the sins and omissions many of us have attacked for years and know still to be true: a flood of cheapness, violence, mediocrity, trivia, and commercialism, relieved only occasionally by the sort of programs the medium is superbly designed to provide. The broadcasters know this, however much they try to convince themselves as well as others that they perform a consistent public service. Yet their reception of Mr. Minow's remarks, according to a participant in the occasion, went far beyond a natural exception to some of his charges or a dismissal of their worth. The nation's broadcasters cursed, snarled, vowed revenge, and determined once more to protect themselves by pressing that charge dearest to the American heart and usually furthest from actual intent or action—government interference. Once more they plugged their ears against the evidence and planned to pin guilt not on themselves but on Mr. Minow. Once more, it was the only way to "stabilize their own tremulous values and consciences."

There is not much to choose between the screaming segregationists of the South, their features contorted with rage, and the pressed lips and hard eyes glinting through glasses of the righteous "pillars of the community" as they excoriate the Supreme Court or vote for censorship. When the Abilene group won their vote for stricter control of films over the objection of an eloquent minority, the triumph of the women was near hysteria: it was impossible not to wonder just what inspired such joy. Possibly more disturbing was a clean-cut high school youth who read a petition from his schoolmates saying, in part: "We . . . are very much in favor of the new city ordinance regarding stricter censorship of movies in Abilene, Texas. . . . If the scientists say, 'We're the sum total of our experiences,' how can we see low grade movies without being affected by them in a way that would degrade our society?" The kid was an empty shell, his brain washed clean.

COUNTERING such hypocrisies and delusions, however, are honest people saying wise things. One was an English film censor named John Trevelyan, who was interviewed for this same CBS "Report." "What standards do you use in rejecting a film?" he was asked.

"You see," said the lean, urbane, and amiable man, "we have no book of rules. . . . Once you have a written document, you've either got to ignore it, which is a bad thing and a stupid thing, or you've got to apply it rigidly or pretty rigidly all round. We have never had written rules. As a result, we can change our policy, if we think we should do so, in line with changes in public reaction, public taste, and so on. And also, we can treat one film that is made, say, with integrity more generously than a film that seems to us to be made for exploitation purposes." After speaking of the British system of classifying films as to their suitability for children or adults, Trevelyan was asked about *Never on Sunday*: "Any objection to that?"

"'Oh, not at all . . . it was made in a way that was quite delightful. . . . No, that's the sort of picture we can pass quite freely in the 'X' [adult] category."

Referring to *Room at the Top,* Trevelyan said: ". . . its sex scenes go perhaps further than previous British productions . . . [but] it gave us no trouble at all. We regarded this as perfectly straightforward, acceptable material for anyone over sixteen."

This sense of balance and proportion was again amply demon-

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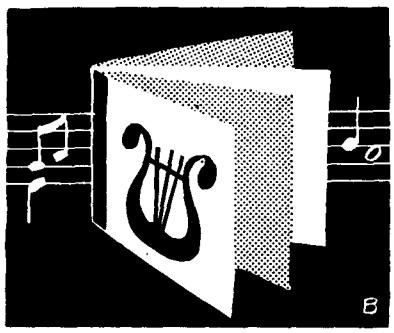
strated in a BBC documentary on the British Health Service, called "On Call to a Nation" and shown over Channel 13 (WNTA-TV), New York. In it, just as many British doctors complained (some bitterly) against certain aspects of the service as endorsed it. Indeed, so scrupulously fair was this film that in a panel of American doctors assembled to discuss the program, no heat whatsoever was generated. With Dr. Howard Rusk as moderator, the distinguished surgeons and physicians expressed their reactions to the British plan calmly and sensibly, with due appreciation for its achievements and the full realization that although this form of service is unexportable, changes in the American system are overdue and Federal help in many areas is essential. Not once did anyone start yammering about "socialized medicine." « »



RECORD NOTES

COUNTRY NEGRO JAM SESSIONS. (*Folk-Lyric* FL 111, *$4.98.*)

While beating the back country of Louisiana for folk singers in recent years, Dr. Harry Oster of Louisiana State University made many recordings of casual musicmaking and dancing in Negro homes. In this remarkably diversified cross section, he has assembled fourteen of the most characteristic remnants of country Negro improvisation. Among the performers—often spurred on by a wryly critical audience of neighbors—is the ancient Butch Cage, a spry examplar of the nearly extinct nineteenth-century Negro fiddle tradition. His playing is jagged but vigorous, as is his singing in partnership with the equally venerable Willie B. Thomas.

Dr. Oster has also included several varieties of blues storytellers, from the restless harshness of Robert Pete Williams (recorded in prison) to the conversational, self-confident Smoky Babe. Elsewhere there are touches of vintage vaudeville, a leaping, hand-clapping celebration of the coming of Judgment Day, and a recreation of a fox hunt with the leader blowing on a Coke bottle and the rest of the company banging sticks on wooden cylinders. The sometimes strangely shifting context of today's folk music is in particular evidence here, since the fox hunt was recorded during a music therapy session at the State Mental Hospital in Jackson, Louisiana. Some stores carry Folk-Lyric, and the company's address is 3323 Morning Glory, Baton Rouge 8, Louisiana.

OLD TIME MUSIC AT CLARENCE ASHLEY'S. (*Folkways* FA 2355, *$5.95.*)

Most of these neighborhood high times, a Southern white equivalent of the *Country Negro Jam Sessions,* were recorded at the home of Clarence "Tom" Ashley in Shouns, Tennessee. A veteran of medicine shows and circuses, Ashley was a professional country musician before the Grand Old Opry tours. He and his friends command a heterogeneous repertory of pungent old British ballads, transmuted through centuries in the Southern mountains, energetic dance and party tunes, some acrid white blues, comic songs, and some grim reports of local disasters as far back as an 1811 earthquake.

In addition to Ashley and his contemporaries (some of them farmers), entertainment is provided by Ashley's daughter and a thirteen-year-old grandson who may well be one of the last Americans of his age to sing as if he'd never heard a rock 'n' roll record. His song is about the mutual suicide of a prince and a fair commoner whom he was not allowed to marry, and the boy's vinegary twang carries hillbilly authority. The set also includes some scorching country fiddling and bristling banjo picking. The voluminous notes provide detailed and often fascinating information about the songs, the social background of the music, and a useful bibliography and discography.

The album is another of Folkways' resourceful and entertaining documentations of the disappearing oral traditions of American folk music. Clarence Ashley's daughter, for example, sings without accompaniment, in the vintage regional style, a song about an old Indian raid. Her clear voice expresses little emotion (it was bad form on the old frontiers) but is all the more poignant in its understatement. Much of the party music, too, despite its mixture of contemporary influences from recordings and traveling shows, goes far back in time. "Pretty Little Pink," for one, has been a courting song and hoedown for well over a century, and it still has topical impact:

"Yonder stands a pretty little girl
She's all dressed in red
I looked down and seen her feet
And I wished my wife was dead."

HARLEM BANJO! Elmer Snowden Quartet featuring Cliff Jackson. (*Riverside* 348, *$4.98.*)

In striking contrast to the bright, piercing style of Clarence Ashley's rural colleagues is Elmer Snowden's mellow jazz banjo. Snowden, sixty-one, gave Duke Ellington his first New York job in 1923 and later headed several formidable jazz bands. For the past three decades, he has been largely forgotten and now works as a parking-lot attendant. Chris Albertson of Riverside has provided Snowden with his first LP forum and has added the equally neglected rollicking "stride" pianist, fifty-eight-year-old Cliff Jackson; Jimmy Crawford, a crisp but unaggressive drummer; and Tom Bryant, a young bassist who reveals a warm respect for his jazz elders.

The result is high-spirited jazz with a minimum of self-consciousness. With supple melodic imagination and a sure, invigorating beat, Snowden reawakens such carefree calls to nostalgia as "Runnin' Wild," "Diga Diga Doo," and "Doin' the New Lowdown." For many years, this kind of music served as important a role in promoting conviviality as the country Negro jam sessions and the parties at Clarence Ashley's. Snowden's improvisations are in the tradition of the "rent party" music that was familiar in many Negro city neighborhoods before television and conscientious managers of housing projects. —NAT HENTOFF

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THE GOVERNMENT OF THE FIFTH REPUBLIC
J. A. LAPONCE

A clear, precise examination of the French constitutional system and political parties, under the leadership of Charles de Gaulle. *$7.50*

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This pioneer work, written for both the professional economist and the businessman, has become a classic in its field. *Paper, $1.95*

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LEONARD CABELL PRONKO

First serious study of the great playwright's philosophy and dramatic values. Thoroughly analyzes his treatment of the human predicament. *$4.50*

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THE REPORTER Puzzle

Acrostickler No. 34

by HENRY ALLEN

DIRECTIONS

1) Each crossword definition contains two clues. One is a conventional synonym; the other a pun, anagram, or play on words.
2) Letters from the acrostic should be transferred to the corresponding squares in the crossword, and vice versa.
3) The initial letters of the correct words in the acrostic will, when read down, spell out the name of a prominent person: the acrostician.

A
2 24 54 92 144 206
Common U.S. slang contraction for the main ingredient of the piece de resistance served by F. D. R. to King George VI and Queen Elizabeth.

B
134 216 94 70
Whence Oliver H. Perry sent his message, "We have met the enemy and they are ours."

C
32 116 218 50 110
The most famous Montague.

D
74 182 68 194 154 102
"Where thro' the long-drawn aisle and fretted vault,/ The pealing anthem swells the ____ praise." Gray, Elegy Written in a Country Churchyard. (4,2)

E
52 132 219 108 4 140 178 190
According to Aristotle, the act which undoes the tragic hero.

F
26 42 96 170 84
Oleo-resinous base of varnish and of some medicinal plasters.

G
48 180 34 158 104 172 222 An arbiter.

H
76 214 86 64 38 152
"A ____ th' tallysheet is worth two in the box." Mr. Dooley in F.P. Dunne, Casual Observations. (4,2)

I
12 122 184 168 118 224 136 150 28 164
Area in which Acrostician specializes. (5,5)

J
200 6 90 202 166 212 62 208
When the sun is approximately on the local meridian.

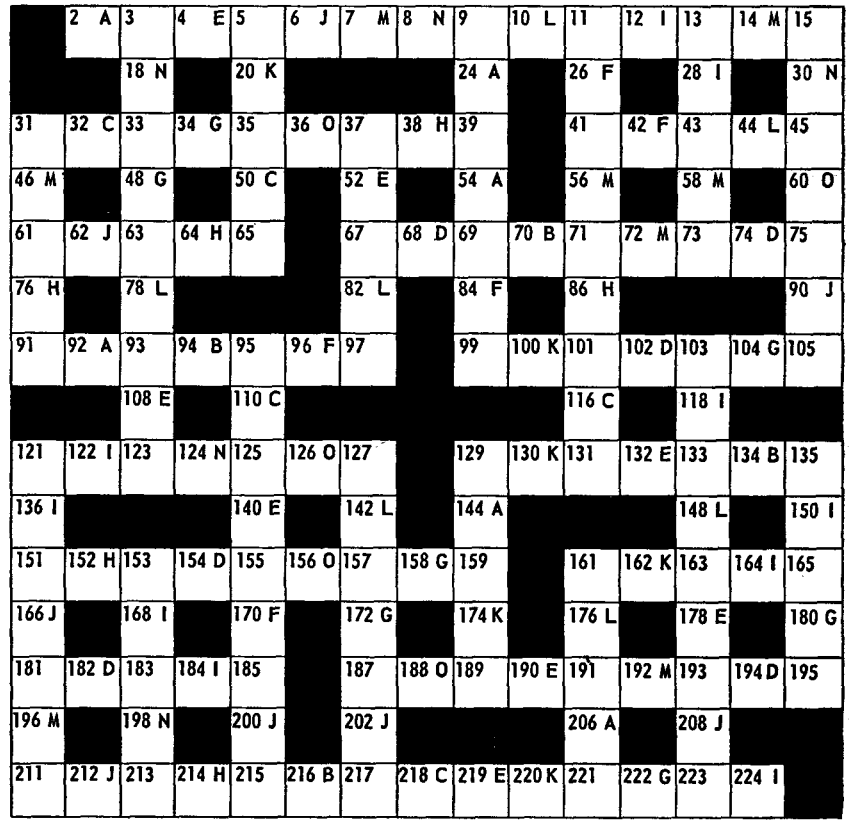
K
162 100 130 20 174 220
A frequent gift for new babies.

L
176 148 44 142 78 10 82
A peak, 14,333 feet, of volcanic origin, situated near a U. S. city whose name is sometimes applied to it.

M
56 192 46 7 196 14 58 72
Leonardo da Vinci, for example.

N
124 18 198 8 30
"Send up ____, Claribel, Assyrian, Stormcock, and Golden Gain." Kipling, "Mine Sweepers."

O
156 126 60 188 36
Friend of Catullus and historian.



ACROSS

2. Battles of the flowers from St. Albans to Bosworth. (4,2,3,5)
31. The press of either may be absent-minded.
41. Assert one's right to one clam.
61. May be in more shade.
67. Waiting at ten, Dan takes tea.
91. Tempted to a point with deceit.
99. Act in accordance with rules as 9 Down doesn't.
121. Saul and Sue we find between Borneo and the Philippines.
129. She already has wealth and distinction, but be sure to bet.
151. Numberless because not peered?
161. Old Testament hero who went to Broadway in '57.
181. Night as in October, in short. (comb. form)
187. Oz-trained and attested.
211. Units of energy found in a Krieg maelstrom.

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DOWN

3. Such a velocity keeps things running around in circles. (2,7)
5. Cattle may guide a vessel.
9. A disbeliever in dogma may cite about after her.
11. What the Church urges 9 down to do with the town crane. (6,3)
13. Callas sang there before she raised 'ell.
15. Sign a p.s. to Tommy.
31. Rope about five to test.
37. Potsherd discovered in English Arden.
95. A problem in play-producing requires smog and tunic.
103. An arranger starts with an instrument.
121. This satellite is put in skin, of course.
127. Aerial feature found in housing developments.
129. With "Who," the question raised by Erle Stanley Gardner, et al, but tie to David when a vote is lost. (3,2)
135. Stood up as the Lawd did back in Breen Pastures to pass a miracle. (dial.)
153. Lord Burleigh's family name and a Maryland county whose seat is Elkton.
161. Stop in France and in far retreats.

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BOOKS

Twice Progressive

MARTIN MAYER

THE TRANSFORMATION OF THE SCHOOL, by Lawrence A. Cremin. *Knopf. $5.50.*

For Americans, education has always been a word charged with emotion. The rise of Prussia in early nineteenth-century Europe was credited in America to "the superiority of the Prussian schoolmaster." In the years right after the Civil War, most Americans believed that the North had won partly because its cause was just and partly because the North had public schools while the South did not. Even today, many Americans will argue that the reason our democracy is not being exported profitably to the new nations is the low level of literacy in Asia and Africa. For many in this country, the ultimate horror of Hitlerism was the fact that it had occurred in *educated* Germany.

This almost mystical belief in education, combined with the egalitarianism of a sparsely settled countryside, led in the early nineteenth century to the one educational contribution that is uniquely American: the idea of the common school, to which all children would have equal access regardless of family status or future occupation. Lawrence Cremin, who ten years ago chronicled the rise of this institution in his fine study *The American Common School,* has now turned his attention to the question of what happened to the common school under the poundings of immigration, industrialization, and urbanization from 1876 to 1955. The schools' responses to those pressures are usually pigeonholed under the label Progressive Education, and *The Transformation of the School* presents itself as a history of progressivism. It is a major work of educational history and will remake the reputations of a number of men, some of them still living.

A PROFESSOR of the history of education at Teachers College, Cremin is one of the distressingly few links between that institution and Columbia University, between teacher training and the intellectual community at large. He is by any measure a first-class historian, a protégé of Henry Steele Commager and R. Freeman Butts. Unlike most historians of education, he is if anything overscrupulous in his insistence on documentation, his reluctance to carry an interpretation beyond the demonstrable. This careful adherence to scholarly standards may conceal from some readers the boldness of what he is trying to do. Behind his large (and literate) pile of data, quotations, and descriptions lies the thesis that "progressive education arose as a part of Progres-

distinctive and unusual

CHRISTMAS CARDS

A new catalogue of the famous Metropolitan Museum cards – each one based on a work of art from the Museum's own collections. This year, a Japanese goldsmith's sketch, a rubbing from a medieval church bell, five prancing deer from a patchwork quilt, a carved golden angel, a jeweled bookcover from an Armenian manuscript, and a Victorian Christmas illustration are some of the sources of the nearly sixty new designs.

All of the cards are printed under the direct supervision of the Metropolitan Museum in limited editions, and cost from 5 to 95 cents each. They can be bought *only* by mail or at the Museum itself. The catalogue–which also illustrates Museum jewelry and other unusual Christmas presents – will be mailed Sept. 1.

The Metropolitan Museum of Art
255 Gracie Station, New York 28

Please send me the Museum's new catalogue of Christmas cards, 25 cents enclosed R1

*Name*_____

*Address*_____

Solution to

THE REPORTER

Puzzle #33

E	X	T	I	N	C	T		P	L	U	M	B	E	D
N		H		O		O	R	L	O	N				E
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I	N	K	W	E	L	L				O	S	I	M	O
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N	E	A	T	H		L	I	M	A		E	L	L	A
A		S		O	A	T	S		M		T	O	E	S
R	O	S	E	S				M	E	T	H	O	D	S
R		A		P	L	U	M	E		A		K		I
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T				C	R	E	T	E		A		U		E
E	N	T	R	E	E	S		R	E	F	U	T	E	S

Acrostician—

WERNHER VON BRAUN

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sivism writ large," that the currents of change in education were part of a great tide in American political development. As he traces progressivism through its many permutations, Cremin never loses sight of one informing doctrine: Dewey's belief that "democracy would be achieved only as schooling was popularized in character as well as clientele."

This view permits Cremin to include a great deal that is usually omitted from discussions of progressive education. He notes the importance of Veblen and Lippmann as well as that of Harold Rugg and William Heard Kilpatrick. He can go to the university level to show the idealism of Wisconsin's extension courses (trumpeted by Lincoln Steffens, among others). He can include the otherwise conservative educator W. T. Harris of St. Louis because Harris created the first organized school system at a time when the progressives were proclaiming the need for efficient professional municipal government. He can gather in the rural schools because the roots of political progressivism were nourished by the Populist fountain. It seems no more than natural, in Cremin's analysis, that progressivism in education should have been flung at the public through the pages of Herbert Croly's *New Republic.*

As the political progressive of the late 1910's became the parlor pink of the 1920's, the educational progressive, with his drive to improve the working-class and rural public schools, became the Greenwich Village and suburban tinkerer who played aimless little games with children whose capacities for self-education were fortunately so great that no school could harm them. The early progressives had wanted simply to help children to an education on the assumption that better-educated people would build a better community. The later progressives of the 1930's were so engaged in their disputes over Stalinism and the nature of the ideal society that they all but forgot about the children in the schools. These progressives were less interested in educating the children than in determining "the new social order" their instruction would somehow force the children to build upon leaving school. Some of them, it appears, really believed that the child of an unemployed steelworker would never hear there was a depression unless teacher told it to him in school. Yet the schools themselves improved as good teachers and administrators, moved by the Deweyan rhetoric of the old generation and by the shambles around them, became conscious of the humanity represented by the students.

By the end of the war, the doctrinaire leaders of progressivism had forgotten what the movement was all about and were reduced to muttering unintelligible or meaningless formulas. They equated their own envious anti-intellectualism with the proud anti-academicism of their forebears, and slid away to Life Adjustment. By seniority and politicking, these "progressives" had landed in the good jobs; they became the people who made the excuses for shoddy work.

CREMIN chronicles with firm hand and averted nostrils the ultimate decay of a movement that had once commanded the allegiance of many of the best minds in America. Though he has little use for the reactionary and implausible solutions offered by the Council for Basic Education, he sympathizes with the intellectuals who feared (fortunately without much basis in fact) that the published nincompooperies of an alleged educational leadership would actually influence what happened in classrooms. He notes the "pitifully small group of mourners" at the funeral of the Progressive Education Association in 1955, but he retains hope for a resurrection and a life to come. Progressivism, especially as originally conceived, may still be viable, both politically and educationally, provided the New Frontier turns up some intelligent new progressives.

Cremin's work combines compulsive scholarship with unusual clarity of intelligence and expression. He neatly draws and solidly documents the distinction between the true contributor and the propagandist. He survives in an apparently uncongenial atmosphere because his irony moves too fast to be seen by his most earnest readers; his victims at Teachers College congratulate him on his labors without the slightest suspicion that they are no longer wearing their pants.

'A City Of the Soul'

ALFRED KAZIN

THE LEGACY OF THE CIVIL WAR: MEDITATIONS ON THE CENTENNIAL, by Robert Penn Warren. *Random House. $2.75.*

Faulkner once wrote that "For every Southern boy fourteen years old, not once but whenever he wants it, there is the instant when it's still not two o'clock on that July afternoon in 1863, the brigades are in position behind the rail fence, the guns are laid and ready in the woods . . . and it's all in the balance, it hasn't happened yet." But after he has passed fourteen, a Southern boy who is unusually sensitive and intelligent and lives in an age like ours may find it impossible to dream back to that moment when it was all revocable. The legacy of the war has become all too real, and the contrast with what Southern hotheads once hoped for it can be torturing. No wonder that like Faulkner's greatest characters, so many honest and intelligent contemporary Southern writers seem to be engaged in a wrathful quarrel with themselves —as if, with their moving sense of responsibility, they were both the past and the present, both the South that they love and the North that as intellectuals they find it easier to live in. No longer is it possible for *them* to pretend that "it's all in the balance, it hasn't happened yet." For Southern writers with this painful attachment to the past, all too much has happened, and the attempt to be morally equal to the present can be wearing. Sometimes the only way out of the circle of defeat, disillusionment, and guilt is a certain mordancy about human nature in general, an impatient cry that one should not have expected too much of people anyway.

AN ACTIVE SENSE of disillusionment, an insistence that human nature is flawed, endlessly paradoxical, and in a very real sense untrustworthy, recurs rather insistently in Robert Penn Warren's novels and poems and

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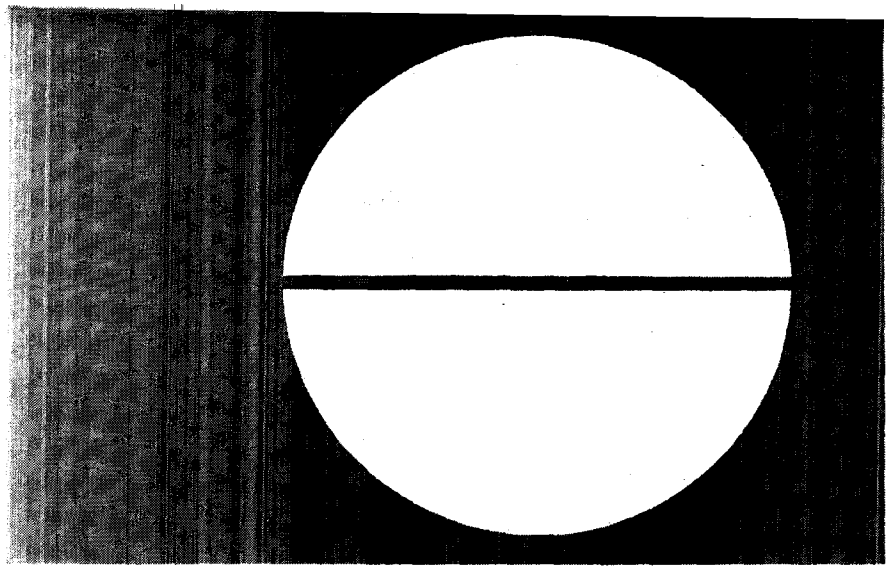

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essays. Both in the character and in the political philosophy of Willie Stark, governor of a state very much like Louisiana, it became the theme and furnished the plot of Warren's best-known work, *All the King's Men;* even the title, *Brother to Dragons,* of Warren's book in verse about the sickening butchery of a slave by a Virginian related to Thomas Jefferson told of his quarrel with Jefferson's eighteenth-century "illusions" about human nature. To judge from the recurring scene in Warren's novels of lovers guiltily expecting to be discovered, his harsh concern with guilt seems to be psychological as well as historical—and in fact Warren's more recent novels have replaced with "Freudian" explanations what in his first and perhaps best novel, *Night Rider,* was presented in theological terms.

But whatever changes of philosophical emphasis Warren has made over the years—in this new book he conveys his own belief as "pragmatism" —the theme of his work always comes to me as a complaint against human nature. So much do I hear it as a complaint rather than as a positive point of view that I associate it with some cherished innocence that has been destroyed. Just as Warren has written one of his most famous poems directly about original sin, so all his work seems to deal with the Fall of Man. And if in reading Warren's books I have come to be more and more wary of his handling of this theme, it is because of the nostalgia that it conveys, the strident impatient language with which it is expressed, the abstract use to which it is put. To complain in every book that man is a brother to dragons, that "it's human to be split up," that human nature is full of "bitter paradoxes"—this, though not for me to disprove in our baleful times, seems to me not the attitude of an imaginative artist. My objection is that Warren tends to make rhetoric of his philosophy, as in Governor Willie Stark's well-known saying, so much admired by American undergraduates, that "Man is conceived in sin and born in corruption and he passeth from the stink of the didie to the stench of the shroud." Whatever human nature may or may not be, Warren tends more and more merely to *say* these things about it, often in bombastic language. The effect of these hotly charged statements is curiously to make him sound sentimental about his own theories and impatient in applying them to his analysis of events.

In a sense all of Warren's work could be called *The Legacy of the Civil War.* This little book has the honesty and intelligence and nervous force one expects of Warren's writing. But I must confess that I am baffled by the enthusiastic reviews it has been receiving from distinguished historians. Can it be that there is now so little to say about the Civil War that this very slight essay, thoughtful and unexceptionable as it is, seems of importance because it has been written by

Robert Penn Warren? I will admit that I turned to it myself because of my interest in Warren, but despite his verve as a writer, I cannot see that it contributes anything new to the subject. So far as the Civil War itself is concerned, I wonder that Warren can take up so cursorily a subject that requires so much detailed handling. After all, this "legacy" is nothing less than the emergence of the modern United States.

Yet Warren can take on the subject because it is this legacy that he has had to face all his life. By now he tends to state it with abrupt positiveness. The truth is that despite Warren's enormous production of fiction and poetry and his influence on the teaching of literature, his habit is to sum things up rather than to portray them for their human interest. And since he is also a powerful and impulsive rhetorician, with a great tendency to use words for the pleasure he himself gets out of using them rather than because they are the most suitable words, his writing is often impatient in tone. Readers of *All the King's Men* will remember how much Warren hung on the expression "the Great Twitch" to denote modern deterministic philosophies (and on Willie Stark's litany about sin, corruption, and the

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didie). In this book he likes to call the Abolitionists "Higher-Law Men," as if that phrase took care of them all, and he writes, "The philosophy of the Southern apologists did, however, offer space in its finely wrought interstices," that ". . . we should seek to end the obscene gratifications of history. . . ." And he speaks of "charismatic arithmetic." This language seems to me abstract, curiously excessive, and hurried. Yet this tendency to write in emotional shorthand can also put him right on the mark, as when he notes of the Abolitionists that they thought they had "a treasury of virtue" and that Southerners have used the war as "the Great Alibi." "By the Great Alibi the South explains, condones, and transmutes everything. By a simple reference to the 'War,' any Southern female could, not too long ago, put on the glass slipper and be whisked away to the ball. . . . By the Great Alibi the Southerner makes his Big Medicine. He turns defeat into victory, defects into virtues."

WARREN'S main point, of course, is that the war showed that North and South were more alike than they had thought. As he says of the argument over slavery between the extremists on both sides, "If in the North the critic had repudiated society, in the South society repudiated the critic." For every Southern failing, he has a Northern one to match it; for every glorious achievement on the Northern side, he can cite one equally glorious among the Confederates. The war did away with the inhuman abstractions of the Abolitionists as well as with the inhuman fantasies of unlimited power held by the slave-owners. The North was not for the Negro but for the Union; the South was full of people who felt more loyalty to the Union than they were able to avow. Human nature was the same on both sides, and the final outcome was to produce on both sides a society in which people would not demand the impossible of themselves.

Warren's impartiality of analysis, I must say, interests me more for what it reveals about a Southern writer arguing with himself than for what it reveals about the war. He quotes an unreconstructed Southerner who prayed "to feel different, but so far I can't help it." Warren says that "'Even if the Southerner prays to feel different, he may still feel that to change his attitude would be treachery—to that City of the Soul which the historical Confederacy became, to blood spilled in hopeless valor, to the dead fathers, and even to the self. He is trapped in history." The last phrase (it recurs in Warren's writing, like the words "obscene" and "vicious" he applies to experience) conveys a good deal of anguish to me. The war is of course analyzed by Warren as the great school of experience in our history. But even when he shows the lessons it brought, you feel that it figures for him as the event which more than any in our history symbolizes the loss of innocence. He notes that Washington and Jefferson can never interest us now as do Lincoln, Lee, and Stonewall Jackson; the latter we see as "caught in dark inner conflicts." And in an eloquent yet tremulous passage, Warren comes closest to revealing the nature of his own attachment to the subject when he says: "A civil war is, we may say, the prototype of all war, for in the persons of fellow citizens who happen to be the enemy we meet again, with the old ambivalence of love and hate and with all the old guilts, the blood brothers of our childhood. In a civil war—especially in one . . . when the nation shares deep and significant convictions and is not a mere handbasket of factions huddled arbitrarily together by historical happenso—all the self-divisions of conflicts within individuals become a series of mirrors in which the plight of the country is reflected, and the self-division of the country a great mirror in which the individual may see imaged his own deep conflicts, not only the conflicts of political loyalties, but those more profoundly personal."

WHAT IS NEW in Warren's book is his use of the term "pragmatism," which he seems to have taken on not only as a corrective of the abstractions and fanaticisms that prevailed before the war but as a personal philosophy that accepts our split-up, contradictory human nature and that views life as a matter of endless experiment. What Warren

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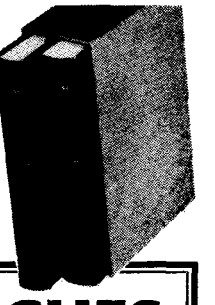

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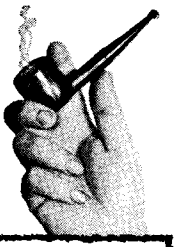

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means by pragmatism, I would guess, is the symbol it furnishes of the American mind's usual opposition to dogma and fanaticism and the excessively theoretical. Perhaps it simply means to be skeptical. But can an imaginative artist really proclaim himself a pragmatist in this purely critical and even negative sense of the term? Can pragmatism—not as a philosophy in law or economics, such as came out of the Civil War—serve a novelist applying its lessons negatively to human nature? In reading these references to "pragmatism" as an outcome of the war, I automatically nodded agreement; but in Warren's sudden enthusiasm for the term, I saw what it is about his novels and poems that so often bothers me.

The truth is that no matter what philosophy of life a novelist may claim, no matter how astringent or realistic or "pragmatic" he may set himself up to be, literature itself consists in saying "Yes" to life—not just to the "open" life that Warren praises, but to the life in every man, whether he is an Abolitionist or a slaveholder. Warren shows us the lessons that Americans learned from the Civil War, that we can learn still; one reads these pages in full agreement. But should *theories* of human nature interest a novelist this much? Don't all these "pragmatic" lessons show up our own superficially questioning attitude toward life as shallow and smug? Whatever it may be in general, life perhaps for the artist alone is life in particular, the life that in some deep sense never can disillusion or dismay. « »

Urbi et Orbi

GEORGE STEINER

THE CITY IN HISTORY, by Lewis Mumford. *Harcourt, Brace & World. $11.50.*

Two writers, both going under the name of Lewis Mumford, have collaborated on this fascinating but uneven book. During much of the argument they work together harmoniously. But often each goes his own way with little regard to the tone and temper of his colleague.

The first Mr. Mumford is an erudite and careful historian of urban life. He has set out to trace the history of the city from its beginnings in the valley of the Nile, in Mesopotamia, and along the Indus to the land-devouring megalopolis of the twentieth century. A bibliography of some eight hundred titles bears witness to his learning and catholicity of judgment. He draws on archaeology, anthropology, history, economics, and demography for his survey of the successive transformations from village to *polis*, from fortified enclave to open city, from coherent community to urban chaos. Having spent his life studying individual cities and architectural sites, he brings to his great canvas a rare immediacy and precision of view. Like Gibbon and Michelet, he sees in history drama writ large.

THIS SENSE of the dramatic governs the most brilliant part of this book—Mr. Mumford's account of how the concept of a city first arose from the dormant, undifferentiated life of the neolithic village. At the core of the city is a concern for the hallowed ground in which the ancestral dead lie buried: "The city of the dead antedates the city of the living. . . . Urban life spans the historic space between the earliest burial ground for dawn man and the final cemetery, the Necropolis, in which one civilization after another has met its end." But the city of the living embodies not only an attempt to consecrate and preserve the tradition of the clan; it represents a direct expression of the instinct for material power and military control. The neolithic village had no walls or weapons. The city, in its true sense, is a citadel enlarged. Its inhabitants are men living under the protection and domination of the strong. Thus the principal agent in the change from a decentralized, noncompetitive village economy to the specialized functions and territorial ambition of the urban polity was the institution of kingship.

That institution was given graphic force by the construction of a citadel, with its palace, storehouses, and barracks. The shape of the citadel has altered, but its defining position at the hub of urban life has persisted from the Acropolis to the Louvre, from the walled city of

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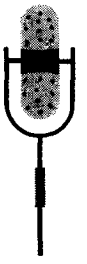
Peking to Capitol Hill. Next to the king stands the priest, whose sanctuary will often be an extension to the citadel. By articulating a covenant or alliance between the city and its god, the priest gives transcendent justification to the pretenses of royal and tribal ambition. The deity abides within its temple as the king abides within his walls. Both extend glory and protection to the city in exchange for obedience and material sacrifice. Again, this conjunction of forces has endured throughout all urban history, from the time of Ur to that of Presidential inaugurals, with their mixture of political assertion and priestly invocation.

By 2000 B.C. most of the major physical organs of the city had been created. Indeed, to get a picture of the early Mesopotamian cities, we need only look at a walled North African city of the present. We would find the same network of narrow streets with houses of up to three stories, the same usable rooftops and inner courts, and the tower of the mosque dominating the huddled houses as the Babylonian pyramid-temple dominated Ur.

MUMFORD argues persuasively that this persistence of essential forms is no accident or matter of architectural imitation, but a direct result of the nature of urban life and of the functions a city must fulfill. These functions—governance, worship, logistic storage, division of labor, strategic centralization—have changed in outward aspect and technique but not in essential meaning.

Mumford the historian traces the theme of underlying persistence and technical change through three thousand years of urban construction and planning. He studies the growth of Rome and the role of Roman military engineering in the grid pattern of modern cities. He gives an unorthodox account of the salubriousness of many medieval centers, with their easy access to the surrounding open country and their disposal of waste through fire. He shows how the development of artillery at first imprisoned the city in high bastions but then made these bastions futile and allowed the city to surge outward. His study of the successive stages of growth in Amsterdam is a concise summary of the larger, com-



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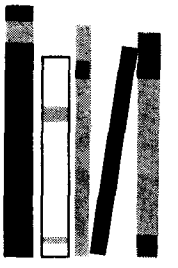

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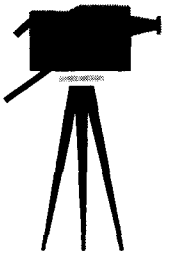

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plex dynamics that have shaped our houses, streets, and public parks. Mumford then moves to the blackened, inhuman cities of the Industrial Revolution and to the attempts of twentieth-century designers to bring back into our frenzied hives the healing powers of light, air, and space.

His narrative is filled with intriguing and recondite facts. For thousands of years human as well as animal dung was used in building houses or deposited on the surrounding fields. This restored to the earth valuable ingredients. Thus water closets are a "backward step ecologically," leading to the pollution of streams and the waste of organic products. Four-fifths of the population of the world still lives in villages "functionally closer to their neolithic prototype than to the highly organized metropolises that have begun to suck the village into their orbits." These villages renew the vitality of urban life, "replenishing the city with their blood, and still more with their hopes." Should village life disappear, the city will be in mortal peril. No works of civil engineering now conceivable with all available machinery were beyond the "great human machines" of the Egyptian Pharaohs.

The private bed, with its correlative sexual possibilities, is a very late development; as late as the seventeenth century, sleeping was often a communal and public affair. In fact, the concept of the modern private house—an abode closed to the street and divorced from open mercantile or productive functions—emerges only in the late sixteenth century. It entailed a complete revaluation of mores, including the notion of long courtship and intimate eroticism. Toilet paper is a late import from China, coming in more or less simultaneously with wallpaper. The Palace of Versailles was less sanitary than a medieval castle.

As wood grew scarcer near large cities, the price of hot water rose, bringing on a drastic decline in the use of baths. In 1387 there were twenty-nine bathing establishments in Frankfurt; in 1530, none.

Two-thirds of central Los Angeles is consumed by streets, freeways, parking facilities, and garages, to the exclusion of rational human uses. The first department store dates back to the reign of Louis XV. Le Corbusier's ideas on the relationship between light and hygiene go back to the white-walled living room in Florence Nightingale's house.

THIS BOOK is a storehouse of erudition, much of it extremely funny. But it is also a passionate tract. The second Mr. Mumford is a crotchety, garrulous sage, in the vain of Mencken. He is a disciple of Emerson, Freud, and Jung, and a prophet of impending doom. He deals with history in eccentric and dogmatic ways.

Mumford II applies to the basic concepts of village and urban life a queer brand of psychoanalytic anthropology. The village, with its tranquillity, enclosedness, and passivity, represents woman. The byre, bin, cistern, and granary are circular, feminine objects. Room, tomb, and womb are related in more than sound. The city, on the other hand, represents the explosion of violent, predacious masculinity. Straight avenues, squares, and obelisks affirm its underlying sexual character. Life-giving wells speak of woman, warlike towers of man.

The walled city under royal command incarnates the desire to seize property, to kill, to destroy. Thus the change from village to urban life has transmitted and enforced "a paranoid psychal structure. . . . the collective expression of a too heavily armored personality." Organized warfare is a direct concomitant of city life and of the aggressive instincts of the male.

As Mumford II envisions it, the city is a tragic paradox. It makes possible the preservation, richening, and progress of culture. But ingrained in its very nature is lust for "predatory domination, leading to heartless exploitation and eventually to parasitic enfeeblement." The ruinous fall of one urban civilization after another, from Babylon to Hiroshima, from Knossos to Coventry, points to a fatal psychic imbalance. Our cities carry in them the seed of their own destruction because they have abandoned the values of feminine receptivity and organic symbiosis which characterize village culture. Village and city correspond to archetypal dualities in the collec-

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tive unconscious of the human race.

From these premises, Mumford evolves his characteristic image of utopia—an urban community in which the receptive and the predatory, the masculine and feminine energies of the psyche, can be fulfilled in harmony. Such conditions of creative equilibrium have existed in Athens between Solon and Pericles and in Renaissance Florence. In these rare instances of psychological poise and consequent architectural beauty, the city becomes something greater than itself, a *polis* of free spirits. The complete *polis* embodies the three values expressed in a specific way at Olympia, Delphi, and Cos—the values of bodily excellence, of direct contact with the mysteries of being, and of health through inner dedication and natural care. Our own modern cities are, by contrast, a parody of this threefold aspiration.

LIKE a new Jeremiah, Mr. Mumford pronounces sentence on the motorized Ninevehs of our age. He sees in them brutal monuments to misdirected abundance, shrines of waste and inhumanity. Like Thoreau and Veblen, he scoffs at the pursuit of material power and mechanical ease: "Speed in locomotion should be a function of human purpose. . . . The fastest way to move a hundred thousand people within a limited urban area, say half a mile radius, is on foot: the slowest way of moving them would be to put them all into motor cars."

Mumford makes bitter sport of a structure such as the Pentagon, an "effete and worthless baroque conceit" resurrected from the bastion design of Vauban. It formalizes "the Bronze Age fantasies of absolute power, the Bronze Age practice of unlimited human extermination, the uncontrolled obsessions, hatreds, and suspicions of Bronze Age gods and kings. . . . The dismantling of this regressive citadel will prove a far harder task than the demolition of the earlier baroque fortifications. But on its performance all more extensive plans for urban and human development must wait."

Moreover, the threat of total ruin through "the infamous nuclear and bacteriological weapons" is only a crass aspect of the universal menace inherent in modern life. Man has found technological and scientific means of dehumanization. He can achieve the Platonic image of a genetically planned robot, of the productive automaton under remote control. Unless we lower our rates of speed and reorient our mechanisms toward more valid human goals, "the end is already in sight." The decision to expend endless resources and ingenuity on space flight when the earth itself cries for restoration and rational development is proof of madness. "Man-in-space," declares Mumford, is "man out of his mind."

There is much in this shrill anxiety to command respect and assent. Any New York commuter knows how grotesquely humane values have been sacrificed to alleged economic or social ends. The millions who have huddled in cellars or air-raid shelters under enemy bombs have seen the city turn into a tomb. A traffic jam is a reminder of the absurdity of combining motorized with urban life. But Mr. Mumford's psychoanalytic and apocalyptic speculations carry over into his historical account with odd results. The change from the small Attic *polis* to the large Roman city, for example, becomes a change from "the oral" to "the anal." The "muscular-cerebral culture of the Greeks gave way to the massively visceral culture of the Romans." Often, Mr. Mumford's tone touches hysteria: to contemplate imperial Rome, one must close "one's ears to the screams of anguish and terror, one's gullet to the retching of one's own stomach." No word here of the enduring architecture of Roman law or of the compassions and spontaneities of Latin literature.

HISTORICAL and technical judgments, in Mr. Mumford's work, have always been governed by moral and political impulse. This has given his style of thought its harsh, moving flavor. But in this extraordinary book, the two voices do not blend well. The achievement of the historian would have been even greater (and more effectively brief) had the moralist been less insistent in his claims. Yet unquestionably, *The City in History* stands beside the work of Hannah Arendt and Wittfogel's *Oriental Despotism* as one of the most impressive books of moral sociology produced in our time.

XPEIAZETAI BOHOEIA*

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